

"Let Your Motto Be"

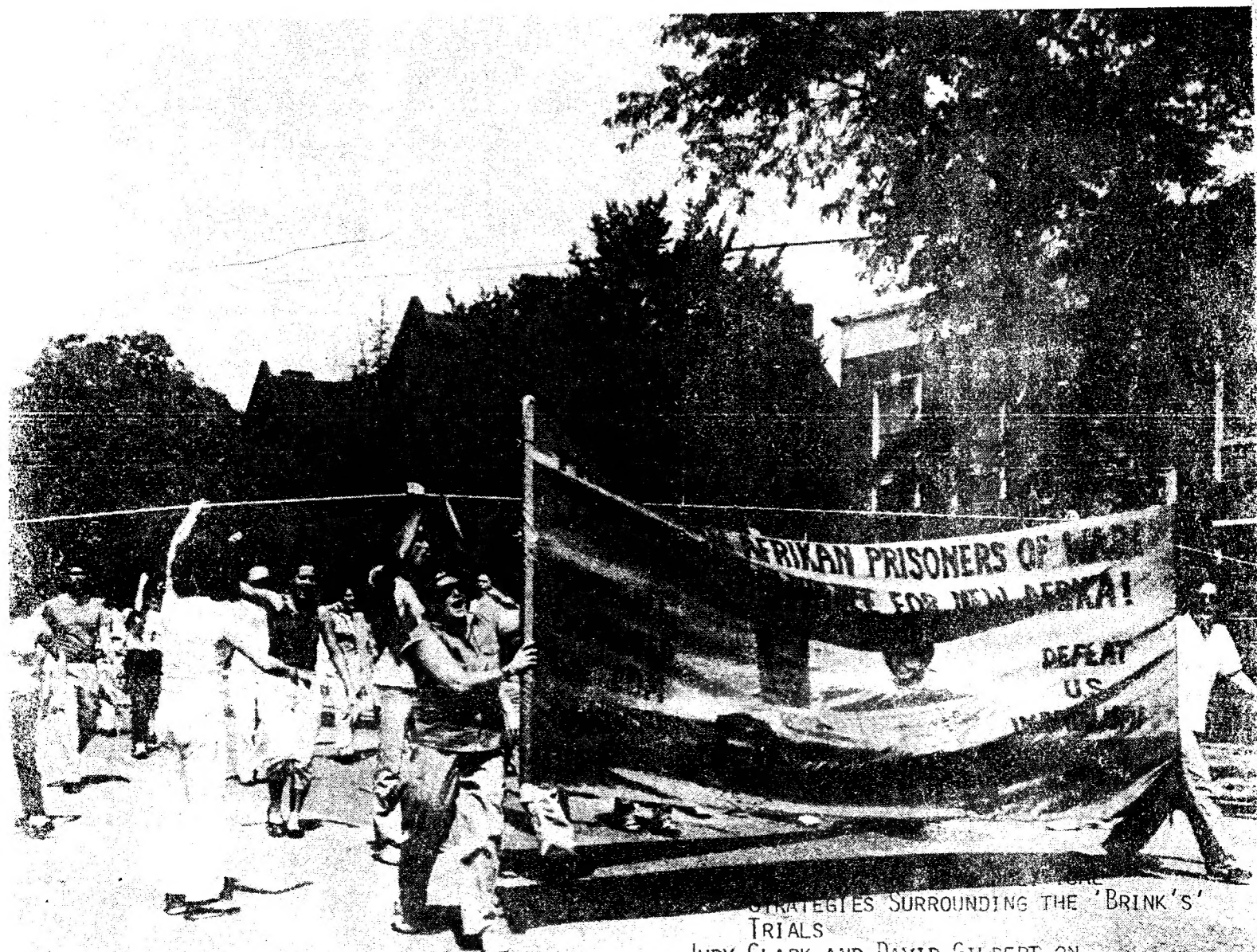
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RESISTANCE!

- Henry Highland Garnet

Vol. 2, No. 3

OCTOBER/NOVEMBER



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SENECA FALLS WOMEN'S PEACE ENCAMPMENT

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'Brink's' Trials, including
Kuwasi's examination of Sekou
Odinga, excerpts from RICO trial
and more. Orders being taken.

COVER QUOTE: The quote "Let your motto be resistance!" is taken from a speech given by Black Abolitionist Henry Highland Garnet called "Address to the Slaves." In the speech, which he delivered to a national Black convention in 1843, Garnet called for militant struggle by Black people as the only road to freedom. We have used his statement for the title of our newsletter because it is a call to resistance against oppression.

RESISTANCE

Awaiting A Bigger Jury

OCT/NOV. 1983

Evaluating The Political Strategies Surrounding The 'Brinks' Trials



credit: Madame Binh Graphics Collective

Two years ago on October 20, 1981, New Afrikan and white anti-imperialist freedom fighters under the leadership of the Black Liberation Army attempted to expropriate \$1.6 million from a Brink's truck in Nyack, N.Y. The goal of the expropriation was to take back a small portion of the money that has been stolen from the labor of Black people ever since they were kidnapped and brought here as slaves. Since then, the u.s. government has unleashed a campaign of repression directed against the New Afrikan Independence Movement and the anti-imperialist movement. The u.s. government has done everything it could to paint the expropriation as a criminal act and the revolutionaries who attempted it as bloodthirsty killers.

A federal indictment came down, charging ten New Afrikan and white people with being part of a "racketeering enterprise," of whom six went on trial. They are New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Sekou Odinga, New Afrikan revolutionary artist Bilal Sunni-Ali, anti-imperialist Silvia Baraldini, and New Afrikans Cecil Ferguson, Jamal Josephs and Iliana Robinson. Four are still free. New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Kuwasi Balagoon and anti-imperialist freedom fighters Judy Clark and David Gilbert faced a New York state trial, charged with carrying out the expropriation itself. And a federal grand jury

jailed 11 New Afrikans and white anti-imperialists for their refusal to cooperate with the grand jury attack on the revolutionary movements.

Resistance was founded in 1981 as the Coalition to Defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters. We have spent the last two years building a resistance movement against government counterinsurgency. This is a time when we need to draw some lessons from our work about the strengths and weaknesses of the revolutionary movements in fighting the government's anti-"terrorist" strategy.

This period has been a high point of confrontation between the u.s. government and the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Through COINTELPRO (the FBI counterintelligence program designed to destroy the Black liberation movement and all revolutionary movements in this country) in the 1960s and 70s, the government thought that it had destroyed armed resistance by the Black liberation struggle. The continued active fighting by the BLA and white forces fighting with it was a threat that the u.s. government was still confronted with and still committed to crush. Those forces had historical roots. The New Afrikan forces under attack have their roots in the Black

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AWAITING A BIGGER JURY, cont'd from p. 3
Panther Party; and in the direction taken by revolutionary forces in the early 70s to build an armed clandestine movement to struggle for the liberation of Black people. The white anti-imperialist freedom fighters and public forces come out of a history of SDS, Weatherman and the May 19th Communist Organization -- forces within the white left who had been moved by the Black liberation movement and their own internationalist perspective to fight in solidarity, on the public and clandestine levels, with those developments. These are small forces but they represent, for the New Afrikan nation and for the struggle within the white oppressor nation, the seeds of a revolutionary strategy to defeat imperialism.

The intensity of the government's offensive is a sign of the threat these developments represent even in their small, early stages. It has been multi-leveled. It has included the activation of the NYPD/FBI Joint Terrorist Task Force, an elite political police unit responsible for the murder of New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata, for the documented torture of Sekou Odinga and of Solomon Brown, for military raids on homes and political organizations. The investigation is the most massive in u.s. history. Dozens have been called before the grand jury; dozens more visited by the TTF; phone and bank records examined; phones tapped; and a concentrated propaganda campaign conducted in the press. 21 million fingerprints have been examined by the FBI in the course of the hunt for the Black Liberation Army.

Our evaluation is that the New Afrikan Movement and the anti-imperialist movement were able to make some advances in the face of this onslaught by fighting for revolutionary principles. As North American anti-imperialists, we fought that New Afrika and all oppressed nations have the absolute right to wage armed struggle for the establishment of independent nations, that will provide their people with economic and political power; that white people can and must uphold the principle of proletarian internationalism by fighting on every level in solidarity with those struggles for the defeat of imperialism; that non-collaboration with the state must be a principle of every progressive movement; and that we live under the system of imperialism, which will have to be overthrown in order for oppressed and exploited people to control their own labor,

wealth and destinies.

Sekou Odinga and Kuwasi Balagoon have taken the position that they are captured soldiers of New Afrika's struggle against colonial oppression -- prisoners of war -- and that the u.s. courts have no jurisdiction over them. This position is critical at a time when revolutionary New Afrikan forces are fighting to build the consciousness, still small, among New Afrikan people that they comprise a nation internal to the borders of the u.s. Judy Clark and David Gilbert are anti-imperialist freedom fighters who are fighting for the liberation of all oppressed nations, for the defeat of u.s. imperialism and for socialism; who also refused to recognize the legitimacy of the courts to try them as criminals. By refusing to let the legal context define their positions, the freedom fighters sacrificed any so-called "democratic rights" in order to advance a revolutionary strategy and affirm that a state of war exists between New Afrika and u.s. imperialism.

The position taken by the grand jury resisters of total non-collaboration also set standards for the entire revolutionary movement. We cannot underestimate the importance of principle at this point in the struggle, when the state is trying to confuse, disorient and misdirect the revolutionary movements.

The struggle led by the freedom fighters in the Goshen trial to delegitimize the u.s. government set terms for the entire struggle against the state, in regard to their trial, the federal trial and the grand jury. Kuwasi's stand as a Prisoner of War, and Judy and David's stand as anti-imperialist freedom fighters, did not dictate a dogmatic position of "nonparticipation" at each point. They used the court for the ends of the struggle, to fight for land and independence, the right of the oppressed to wage armed struggle, and the illegitimacy of the u.s. empire -- not to "clear" themselves in any manner. "This case awaits a bigger jury," Kuwasi said in his opening statement.

On July 11, when the freedom fighters attempted to deliver their opening statements, a demonstration of some 75 people took place outside which raised the demands Land and Independence for New Afrika, Free New Afrikan POWs; Defeat u.s. Imperialism; Free all Captured Freedom Fighters. The

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FROM FREEDOM FIGHTERS

SENTENCING STATEMENTS

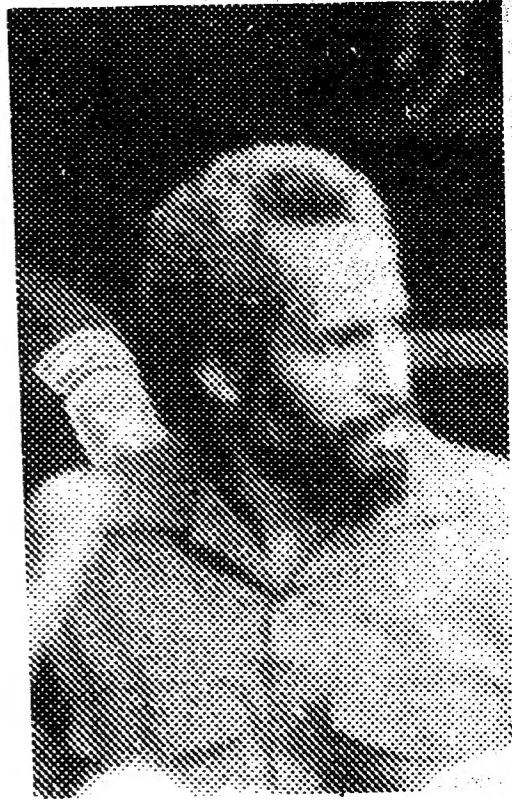
[These are excerpted from the statements given by New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Kuwasi Balagoon and by anti-imperialist freedom fighters Judy Clark and David Gilbert on the day of their sentencing in Goshen, N.Y. As they did throughout the trial, the freedom fighters used the day to expose the reality of u.s. colonization of New Afrika and to argue for the unconditional right of New Afrika to fight for land and independence. When they had completed their statements, the freedom fighters left the courtroom before the judge pronounced sentence.]

KUWASI BALAGOON

The ruling class of the United States and its government colonizes the New Afrikan people; that is, Black people held within the confines of the present borders of the U.S. i've been brought here to be sentenced by the state partly because all New Afrikans, notwithstanding a black astronaut and Miss America, have been sentenced to an indefinite term of colonialization and partly because of my response to genocide, exploitation, oppression, degradation and all the elements that make up this process of colonialization.

The bulk of New Afrikan people are restricted to living in certain areas, restricted to certain areas of employment; we as well as other third world peoples of color in the confines of the U.S. make up the caste of captive nations within this empire who perform the menial tasks far out of proportion to our numbers in relation to whites. Although the ruling class exploits all workers, they exploit New Afrikan and other third world people at a higher rate. Our infant mortality rate is higher, our life expectancy shorter, our unemployment rate double and none of this is by chance. This is contrived, by the enemies of my people, our colonizers, the American imperialist, and this is enforced by force of arms.

Historically and universally the counter to imperialist armies are liberation armies, the counter to colonial wars is

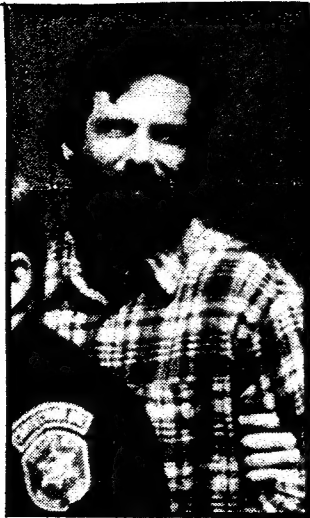


wars of liberation, the counter to reactionary violence, revolutionary violence. As a New Afrikan Prisoner of War, i have no more respect for a sentence by the colonizer than i have for hypocritical legislative rituals leading to it or the enslavement apparatus of a corrupt order that commits genocide against entire peoples and threatens the entire biosphere, or the pompous proclaimers of democracy and free enterprise in a country of racists where less than 2 per cent of the population owns more than thirty per cent of the wealth in a pyramid whose base is made up of fifty per cent of the population earning less than 9 per cent of the wealth. . .

When the oppressed bear with it, accept colonialization for the most part or at least don't get so upset about it as to entertain the idea of war, things are OK by pig logic. Gribetz wishes out loud that there were a death penalty, but the fact that there has never been a white executed for the rape or murder of a Black in the entire history of the United States doesn't provoke any wishes for a need for change. Not one, in all of the fifty states or colonies before them in the last 400 years is an incredible statistic. But although he rants and raves, he doesn't challenge the truth of that statement or the recent murder of a black man in Manhattan for

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DAVID GILBERT

The sentence that will be announced today along with the speeches from the D.A. and the judge are quite predictable. They were predictable from the first day of our capture. This government has always pulled out all the stops to attack -- to seek to discredit and destroy -- the Black liberation struggle and its revolutionary allies. Every system of oppression has ruled by the combination of naked force and hypocritical self-justification. Today is the day the government tries to intimidate all those who would consider fighting against its overbearing injustice by saying 'the price you pay will be too great.' At the same time, it tries to win acceptance for its show of force through the elaborate legalistic rituals designed to cloak this tyranny with the pretense of justice. . .

We say that if they sentence us to 1,000 years or shoot us at dawn tomorrow it will not save this social system, this ruling class, from the upheavals and revolution that its own beastly oppression had made inevitable. We say that all the perfumed speeches in the world about justice and the rule of law cannot cover the stench of this imperialism, dripping with the blood of the women, men and children it has butchered throughout the world.

We first entered this court to declare ourselves as freedom fighters in September, 1982. It was the week of the massacres of

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JUDY CLARK

We come here -- or shall I say more precisely we are brought here -- for the last time. I reiterate that I am a revolutionary and an anti-imperialist freedom fighter. The real issues here, the issues this court did not and will never allow to be examined, is the right of New Afrikan people to self-determination and human rights by any means necessary; and the strategic and moral responsibility for anti-imperialists and progressive white people to uphold that right as an integral part of our struggle for a humane and just society.

From the state's point of view, this is the culmination and the high point of this whole process they call a trial. . .

But for us, this day is not a culmination, or a day of consequence. On the simplest terms, because the outcome of this charade was clear from the moment of its inception. And if the media and the public were honest with themselves and stepped outside of their own unthinking awe of this ritual they would at least have to grant



that obvious fact. But more to the point, it is because what is at issue is not us. It is the fate and destiny of masses of people. What is at stake is the ability of the New Afrikan people to struggle against colonialism for their national liberation. What is important to me is whether other white people will see their destinies tied to this corrupt system or will define their own future and potential in fighting as allies of oppressed nations. We believe that

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The Verdict Is Still Out—Evaluation of Trial Stand and Strategy

by: JUDY CLARK AND DAVID GILBERT,
Anti-Imperialist Freedom Fighters

This summer, we were tried along with Kuwasi Balagoon on state charges arising out of the attempted expropriation of a Brink's truck in Nyack, N.Y. This trial was one key aspect of a broader counterinsurgency offensive waged by the u.s. government against the New Afrikan Independence Movement, in particular its armed clandestine forces, and the anti-imperialist movement since October 20, 1981. This has included a major federal trial in which New Afrikan revolutionaries and supporters, along with anti-imperialist activists, were tried for charges of racketeering and conspiracy, and the continued imprisonment of a number of New Afrikans for refusing to collaborate before a grand jury.

New Afrikan Freedom Fighters Kuwasi Balagoon and Sekou Odinga took positions as Prisoners of War, soldiers captured in the course of a just anti-colonial struggle,

over which the u.s. courts have no jurisdiction. Our basic stand in the trial was that we are anti-imperialist freedom fighters, not criminal defendants. The heart of what is at issue in this case is not who did what on October 20, 1981, but rather the right of Black people to struggle for self-determination, including land and independence, by any means necessary. In line with that, we struggled for the strategic priority of revolutionaries in the oppressor nation to fight for the right to self-determination of oppressed peoples by every means, including armed struggle. The action of October 20th was an attempted expropriation, not a robbery. It was part of the just struggle for New Afrikan national liberation. Further, we condemned u.s. imperialism, the colonizing, genocidal, exploiting system and challenged the legitimacy of the courts, as part of the repressive apparatus to maintain imperialism. We

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credit: Madame Binh Graphics Collective

VERDICT IS STILL OUT, cont'd from p. 7
refused to engage in criminal or evidentiary proceedings.

Because this is a new stand for our movement, and because we have just completed a phase of intense confrontation with the state, it is important to evaluate our strategy. In doing so, we want to draw out some of the issues of struggle and self-criticisms we have. We want to open up these issues for evaluation by the larger movement. Additionally, we think it is critical now for us and our movement to advance the revolutionary principles that we fought for in the trial.

We took the position we did and conducted ourselves as such to accomplish certain specific political goals and to advance certain principles. By taking responsibility for ourselves as anti-imperialist freedom fighters, we were affirming that white revolutionaries are waging and should wage armed struggle, and must make support for self-determination of oppressed nations a fundamental principle and goal of the struggle. As such, we support the development towards armed clandestine organization and action during this last two years, and believe our movement must embrace it, support it and build it as an important aspect. We took our stand in solidarity with and in recognition of the stand of New Afrikan POWs, and to build unity with that. We felt that it was important to challenge the dominance of legalism in our movement, and to underline the fact that the only purpose the courts have is to maintain this system, to suppress revolution and the liberation struggles of oppressed and exploited people. We are saying that we don't see our futures and our freedom tied to the legal system, but look to the development of a revolutionary movement. We fought the state's attempt to criminalize us and the New Afrikan forces by coming forth at each point clearly as revolutionaries and freedom fighters. As part of that, we built a practice of resistance -- from the time of our initial capture, to resisting line-ups and the taking of hair samples, to our stand in court -- in building our revolutionary definition and overcoming awe and reverence of the imperialist state and to show ourselves and others that no matter what the circumstances, we can fight and grow stronger by doing so. In that sense, we remain free, despite being imprisoned, for we define ourselves by our principles.

Our position was the product of much struggle over the months after our capture. In addition to struggles over the importance of taking a revolutionary stand of resistance, we were in struggle over our particular definition as white anti-imperialists. For a long time, we fought to define ourselves as Prisoners of War which placed us in the same category as the New Afrikan POWs. This came from our view of ourselves as solidarity soldiers and the strategy we had pursued of fighting as an integral component of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Fighting for this position was part and parcel of a stand through the first year and a half that claimed October 20th as a victory, promoted a multi-national model of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force, and fought against doing serious self-criticism in the face of mounting losses and the emergence of traitors and corruption within the ranks.

We changed our position as a result of a larger process of struggle to open up the errors of our strategy and line. One central error was that we operated internally to -- as part of -- the New Afrikan Independence Movement, which was interventionist and promoted multi-nationalism. This came, in part, from a view that the only force for revolution in the u.s. were the national liberation struggles and the Black liberation struggle in particular, while negating the class contradiction. Thus, rather than seeing our responsibility as fighting to build for revolution in the oppressor nation, we saw ourselves operating as exceptional white people by virtue of a special relationship to the Black liberation struggle. This line, which substitutes the actions of individuals for the role of classes and nations, also played itself out in a focoist military strategy. These fundamental aspects of ideology are the focus of an ongoing rectification struggle.

Addressing these errors made us look at the problems of our defining ourselves as POWs. As New Afrikans organizing around the case argued to us, our position of multi-nationalism undercut the anti-colonial character of their struggle. Their fight to gain recognition of New Afrikan Freedom Fighters as POWs is integral to winning recognition of the legitimacy of their struggle as a national liberation movement. We had to forge a principled relationship

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TAKE THE LESSONS, cont'd from p.9
ical line that fought for "the victory of October 20th." In the face of enormous losses and the surfacing of deep political errors of principles and strategy, our stance which proclaimed October 20th as a victory, served to cloud the internal weaknesses and an incorrect political/military strategy for revolution and thus to hold back the struggle.

For, in the words again of Debray -- who although he made major theoretical errors has also made major contributions to revolutionary struggle, "All decisive revolutionary processes begin and have begun with certain missteps . . . because the existing points of departure are always those left behind by the preceding historical period." He argues "Never do you change basic principles and direction of the struggle."

So we affirm here tonight that we are committed to advancing the revolutionary process and firmly root our movement in the principle of self-determination for oppressed nations. The building of solidarity with New Afrikan Freedom Fighters must continue to deepen as a firmly fought-for principle for the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement within the oppressor nation. We uphold the right of Black people to organize themselves to carry out a revolutionary struggle for power -- to end u.s. imperialist domination, to free themselves from illegal containment within the borders of the u.s. empire (ruled by the federalist state) and to build a new society -- a socialist society on the territory of New Afrika. Without armed struggle, without the political/military strategy and organization, this goal, the revolutionary demand for land and independence, is totally impossible. New Afrikan Freedom Fighters Day is part of establishing this principle -- an expression of proletarian internationalism -- for our movement. Year after year, at every stage of development of the battle to the death between u.s. imperialism and the New Afrikan nation's war for total liberation, we will reaffirm our commitment to honor New Afrikan Freedom Fighters, and the absolute principle of self-determination.

In the past, though we understood the particular relationship of the white oppressor nation to New Afrika, our relationship to the New Afrikan Independence Move-

ment was not one based on proletarian internationalism, but on multi-nationalism and intervention.

On July 18, New Afrikan Freedom Fighters Day two years ago, we fought for a major contingent of white anti-imperialists to march in Harlem in solidarity with developing fighting forces of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. We argued essentially that we are anti-imperialists by virtue of joining with the New Afrikan Independence Movement in the struggle for land and independence. Marching through Harlem, we asserted ourselves as "allies." Judy Clark argued for May 19th in a speech that day that this was the way we could be more than supporters in the struggle to defeat imperialism. We now believe that we developed an incorrect position and maintained a powerful stake in this special relationship to the New Afrikan Independence Movement that avoided our responsibility to develop a revolutionary struggle in the white oppressor nation for white people. As Judy Clark said recently in a letter evaluating political errors, "strategic alliances are forged by whole struggles at a much more advanced stage of the revolutionary process, not by individuals from different nations or even small organizations."

As an example of this struggle, May 19th agreed and fought for months that Judy Clark and David Gilbert were POWs, continuing the assertion that they are part of the Black nation's struggle for self-determination. The POW stand taken by Sekou Odinga and Kuwasi Balagoon is significant because it is part of the essential development of mass revolutionary consciousness of nationhood being spearheaded by the New Afrikan Independence Movement. We look to Judy Clark and David Gilbert in comradeship and struggle because they are freedom fighters who fought for New Afrikan Independence. In struggle, they could stand as examples for many white people to take up the revolutionary demand of self-determination for all oppressed nations and to fight anti-imperialist war.

Thus, history is forcing our movement to examine our opportunist relationship to national liberation struggles as part of an overall struggle to mature our 15-year-old petit bourgeois anti-imperialist movement, because revolution learns best from

Cont'd on p.18

FROM THE GRAND JURY RESISTERS

Non Collaboration, The Only Strategy

The following are excerpts from a joint legal action filed last summer by the resisters jailed for refusing to collaborate with the grand jury attacking the New Afrikan Independence Movement. The legal papers were written by the grand jury resisters themselves.

AIYSHA BUCKNER

In July 1983, members of the FBI's Terrorist Task Force followed Ms. Buckner to her mother's house in the Bronx to interrogate her. Through their surveillance they knew that she was still using drugs; they had observed her patterns and knew when she was sick. This is when they went to her. They brought her to headquarters in downtown Manhattan and detained her for over six hours.

During her interrogations, the FBI told her they knew she had a drug problem. They told her she would get locked up if she didn't cooperate with them. At no time did they advise her that she had the right to speak to an attorney. When she asked to make a telephone call, they refused to let her use the telephone. . . . When she was finally released, they told her not to tell anyone she had been questioned by the FBI.

WHEN I ASKED THE FBI AGENT WHY THEY HANDCUFFED THE CHILDREN, HE SAID "BECAUSE WE REMEMBER VIETNAM." -- FULANI SUNNI-ALI

In July, 1982 Ms. Buckner was served with a subpoena. She has been targeted by the government because she was a patient at BAAANA [Black Acupuncture Advisory Association of North America, a revolutionary community health care center established to fight the drug plague in the Black and Puerto Rican community with acupuncture and political education. -- Ed.]. The FBI thought she would be a weak link who could be threatened and manipulated. They deliberately visited her when she was sick and in need of drugs. They kept following her around and coming back to her when she said she didn't want to talk. In spite of all this, Ms. Buckner has refused to collaborate with the grand jury.

[On September 28, Aiysha Buckner was released from jail because the judge decided that further incarceration would not make her collaborate with the grand jury.]

RICHARD DELANEY

Richard Delaney is a health worker for the Black nation which is held captive within the borders of the United States. He is a trained and licensed acupuncturist who acquired this skill and art as a result of the life and death struggle waged in the Black and Puerto Rican slums of New York against drug addiction and other health problems spawned by the U.S. government.

On March 26, 1982, a team of heavily armed FBI agents and NYPD detectives staged a pre-dawn raid at the BAAANA facility on W 139th Street. . . . All of the occupants were roused from their sleep and immediately separated from each other. They were detained and interrogated by the FBI for the next seven hours. They were denied access to their lawyers by telephone; when a lawyer arrived at BAAANA, he was denied entrance.

Dr. Delaney resided at BAAANA but was not at home when the raid occurred. When

he arrived several hours later, he was threatened and intimidated by the Terrorist Task Force. They kept telling him "We're going to get you on conspiracy," while pointing a gun at his head. When that didn't work, they tried the soft tactics, offering him \$25,000 and a change of identity. Before the Terrorist Task Force left, they pulled out blank grand jury subpoenas and filled in the names of everyone who happened to be present in the house that morning.

Dr. Delaney has steadfastly refused to cooperate with this grand jury. He and other grand jury resisters are being punished because they believe in the struggle of Black liberation and freedom and because

Cont'd on p. 12

NON-COLLABORATION, cont'd from p.11
they refuse to become informers.

[Dr. Delaney lost his motion to be released after spending nine months in jail.]

YAASMYN FULA

Yaasmyn Fula has been incarcerated for approximately 16 months for refusing to provide handwriting and hair samples to the RICO grand jury. . . She is a 33 year old Black resident of the Bronx where she was employed for ten years as a Legal Assistant at Bronx Legal Services.

Ms. Fula became professionally associated with the National Task Force for COINTELPRO Litigation and Research, a national organization of lawyers, paralegals, law students, legal workers and human rights activists which was convened immediately following the revelations by the Church Committee that the U.S. government, over a 30-year period, had conducted a deliberate campaign to disrupt, destroy and neutralize the Black human and civil rights movement.

[Ms. Fula was released from jail in August 1983 after serving a full 18 months.]

JERRY GAINES

Jerry Gaines is a 35 year old God believing, God blessed full time mother of eight children ranging from 15 to three years old.

She refused to collaborate with the grand jury because of the attack on her home and her family by the U.S. government on October 27, 1981. . . The FBI came in a pre-dawn raid accompanied by tanks, trooper agents, helicopters, SWAT teams and planes with all guns aimed at her house.

They drove the tank up her driveway and over a loudspeaker, called her children, friends and herself off the front porch one by one. They held guns at point blank range at their heads. They handcuffed everyone until they ran out of cuffs or their little belt-like handcuffs slipped off the younger children's hands. They locked up Ms. Gaines and gave her and some of her children cavity searches.

She was ordered confined on March 1, 1982 when she refused to cooperate with the same investigation that could have ended the lives of herself, her family and her friends. She has made it clear that she

will not cooperate and that 18 months in jail will have no coercive impact on her.

[Ms. Gaines was released in September 1983 after serving 17 months in jail.]

SHAHEEM JABBAR

Shaheem Jabbar is an activist in the Black liberation movement. He has participated in many public events and is a known associate of others involved in the New Afrikan (Black) struggle for human rights and self-determination.

Mr. Jabbar was subpoenaed May 1, 1982 when the FBI came to his house where he was bedridden with a severe case of rheumatoid arthritis.

Mr. Jabbar was ordered confined on June 2, 1982 after refusing to collaborate with the grand jury. The government opposed his application for postponement of his surrender date to fully recover from his arthritis before being jailed.

On June 30, 1982 Mr. Jabbar was removed from his unit at the Metropolitan Correctional Center on the pretext that Captain Clark wanted to see him in his office. Instead, he was brought to a meeting with FBI Agent Maddox, another FBI Agent, and Peter Middleton, who had been a former friend and associate of Mr. Jabbar's and who was now cooperating with the government. Mr. Jabbar was told by both the FBI and Middleton that Middleton had given the government information which would convict him of "criminal conduct."

The purpose of the meeting was to intimidate Mr. Jabbar into cooperating with the government also. He was promised a new identity and told that all of his needs would be taken care of. When he refused to cooperate, Agent Maddox told him that they would apply every pressure they could think of to get him to collaborate. They threatened to prosecute his wife for being a member of the FALN and to prosecute him for criminal contempt for which they said he would get at least five years in prison.

Despite these threats, Mr. Jabbar has rejected all government promises and offers. He refuses to change his position of non-collaboration and has condemned his former friend, Peter Middleton, for his collaboration. He has made it clear that 18 months

Cont'd on p.33

AWAITING A BIGGER JURY, cont'd from p. 4
 demonstration was held on the day they delivered their statements, rather than on the opening day of the trial, because it was defined by the politics of the freedom fighters and not by the state's attempt to criminalize them. We think the demonstration was a breakthrough in building a resistance movement that doesn't "applaud" the armed struggle, but rather participates in the fight against imperialism. On that day, Judge Ritter prevented Kuwasi from delivering his opening statement, which details the colonial situation of New Afrikan people. (This statement will be available soon as a pamphlet, published by the National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters, which can be obtained from Resistance.)

Fighting RICO

The counterinsurgency strategy of the 1980's is criminalization. The newest FBI guidelines, established in March 1983, formalized the use of RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) against political movements. "We must ensure that the criminal intelligence resources which have been brought to bear so effectively on organized crime are effectively employed in domestic security/terrorism cases." (Attorney General William French-Smith, announcing the issuing of the guidelines.) RICO's main usefulness to the government lies in the fact that it allows them to prosecute political groupings as "criminal enterprises," like the Mafia or drug rings; and to prosecute as a single enterprise people who are associated only through their political beliefs. In the late 60s and early 70s, the government launched several conspiracy trials: the Panther 21, the Chicago 8, the Berrigan Brothers and others. In every case, the charges were clearly political; in every case,

the government lost and the people on trial went free. As a result, they developed the strategy of criminalization, which portrays revolutionaries as criminals in order to keep away mass support and to confuse and disorganize people. The government was also trying to "rehabilitate" the FBI, still suffering from the exposures in the early 70s of COINTELPRO, an explicit program to destroy the national liberation movements.

Our evaluation of the recent verdict in the RICO case (the conviction of Sekou Odinga and Silvia Baraldini on RICO charges, the complete acquittal of Bilal Sunni-Ali and Iliana Robinson, and the conviction of Cecil Ferguson and Jamal Josephs only on lesser charges) is that it represents a defeat for the u.s. government in the first use of RICO against the New Afrikan Independence Movement and anti-imperialists. The government's failure was a result of the fight waged to expose that this was, in fact, a political trial. Though the government battled the defendants constantly to prevent any evidence of COINTELPRO attacks against the Black Liberation Movement from entering the courtroom, the 2/3 Black jury accepted the arguments by Sekou Odinga, Bilal Sunni-Ali and Silvia Baraldini that this case was part of a government plan to criminalize and destroy the Black Liberation Movement. The jury's own experiences were recalled when Attorney Chokwe Lumumba told them that the defendants were "the children of those who fought for your right to be sitting there at all today."

The U.S. Attorney implored the jury not to be swayed by the corruption of its witnesses. "The issue is not whether you like these men. The issue is not whether you would invite them into your home for dinner. Nobody expects you to like them or admire them. These men are criminals. Raymond Oliver was a robber. Tyrone Rison

Cont'd on p. 14

POGO

By Walt Kelly



cont'd from p. 13

murdered people. Kamau Bayete was a cocaine addict. There is no mistaking what they are and there is no mistaking what they did." (Transcript, p. 9119, U.S. Attorney Stacey Moritz.) The jury overall hesitated to accept the testimony of the traitors unless it seemed to be confirmed by other evidence. Confronted with the contrast between the self-centered, cowardly nature of the traitors and the dedicated and courageous characters of the revolutionaries, the jury couldn't swallow whole the government's view of a "terrorist" network, they did what a jury is "supposed" to do--they weighed the evidence. Overall, they did not believe the government's "facts". The jury did convict Sekou and Silvia and, in taking its job seriously within the definition of "legality", was of course able to fundamentally challenge the court's legitimacy to try Sekou.

The struggle within the courtroom meshed with work done by the New Afrikan Independence movement and the anti-imperialist movement. What was made very clear was that the revolution, and not a criminal "gang" was on trial in federal court. The

politicization of the trial projected the struggle for land and independence for New Afrika, and against imperialism, into the press and public consciousness more than was ever true before.

Militarization of the Courts

The government's "anti-terrorist" campaign can only work if public support for it can be mobilized. The attempts to do this have included a well-orchestrated campaign to portray revolutionary forces as degenerate and bloodthirsty. They have also included the militarization of the courts and of the community. The courtroom in the federal trial was filled with as many as 20 armed marshals and the streets of Goshen were filled with heavily armed sheriff's deputies whenever the freedom fighters were in court.

The military presence is designed to organize the community to tolerate repression because it is necessary to "protect" them from "terrorists". It also strengthens the military apparatus of the state. (New York has accumulated hundreds of thousands of dollars of police equipment since October 20, 1981.)

Part of this campaign as well is the use of anonymous jurors who are identified only by number throughout the proceedings. Anonymous juries expose the farce of courtroom "justice"--how can jurors fairly judge a defendant when they believe the defendant represents a danger to themselves and their families? Once the jury pool has been organized by the press and the military presence in the community, anonymity is one more element in building the image of revolutionaries as "mad dog killers". They are a step in the process which will move to the trying of revolutionaries in cages, as members of the Red Brigades have been tried in Italy; or in empty, sealed special courtrooms, as members and supporters of the Red Army Fraction have been tried in West Germany.

Grand Jury

The U.S. government has used the grand jury as a tool of political repression for over ten years, in particular against the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, and now again, against the New Afrikan Independence Movement and white anti-imperialists. There is a fierce debate going on as to



Credit: Madame Blin Graphics Collective

what strategy can defeat it, and there are forces within the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, the New Afrikan Independence Movement, and among progressive whites who are putting forward "selective non-collaboration" as an acceptable response. We disagree. Total non-collaboration is the only strategy that denies the government what it seeks: information that will help it destroy armed organizations; the intimidation of widening circles of political activists, and the pushing into reformism and the abandonment of principle of sectors of the movement; and the jailing and intimidation of particular activists. Non-collaboration denies the government victory in their search.

Non-collaboration is more than refusing to cooperate with the grand jury. It is a political position which denies the government the legitimacy to investigate revolutionary and progressive movements. It argues in practice that imperialism is our enemy--and you don't give your enemy anything to use against the struggle. Sekou Odinga refusing to give information while the Terrorist Task Force beat him and burned him with cigars; Sekou, Judy Clark and David Gilbert being tied up and gagged in order to get them into an identification line-up--these are leading examples of non-collaboration that build the revolutionary movements' capacity to resist and that set examples for many other people.

Non-collaboration has to mean more than "not snitching" to contribute to the building of a resistance movement. It has to be based in full support for the right of oppressed nations to fight for their liberation; and absolute support for the forces building the armed capacity to wage that fight. It is the basis for building the movement to stop the grand jury as a weapon of political repression, as well as to support specific grand jury resisters.

Until several months ago when a collective legal action was filed by the grand jury resisters, very different strategies were advanced by different forces opposed to the RICO grand jury. Some groups identified the target of the grand jury as women with children, or as activists in community struggles such as day care, education, health care. Arguments focused on the "innocence" of those subpoenaed to the grand jury, or the hardships suffered by individuals.

None of these positions can effectively guide a fight against the grand jury, or build a principled, strong resistance movement. They try to deny the reality that the focus of the government's investigations and attacks are the revolutionary forces, clandestine and public, of the New Afrikan and anti-imperialist movements. These positions in no way challenge the legitimacy of the entire grand jury process, or the system which uses it. Finally, by defining the grand jury as a different strategy than other aspects of counterinsurgency, they misidentify the enemy and divert the movement's energies.

Traitors

The government has made extensive use of traitors in the current attack. The revolutionary movements have had to look closely at their own internal weaknesses and the weaknesses of these individuals to understand how government pressure turned these people into cowards who would do anything for their own self-interest. What is clear is that torture or fear may force people to collaborate, but every individual makes a choice to become a traitor or to expose the government's actions. All of these traitors decided that the state could offer them more than the struggle, and continued to cooperate and hide their cooperation as long as possible.

The revolutionary movements have to examine their own political line that meant that people who were trusted with political and military responsibilities did not have the political development or commitment to withstand the state's attacks when they were captured. We also need to overturn the liberalism that kept us from waging a consistent and clear campaign to expose the traitors as enemies. We need to project examples of non-collaboration, like the grand jury resisters, to show people that the state isn't all-powerful and that the movement is capable of principled resistance.

Opportunism and the Left

Most of the white left has either kept silent about the current wave of counterinsurgency or has condemned the Black Liberation Army and all armed actions and formations as "premature" and "adventurist."

Cont'd on p. 37

VERDICT IS STILL OUT, cont'd from p. 8

to that by upholding the right to self-determination and by developing a revolutionary identity for ourselves, one that was rooted in building a revolutionary movement in the oppressor nation. Our long term goal is proletarian internationalist class war that fights for the defeat of u.s. imperialism, for the liberation of oppressed nations in the destruction of the u.s. empire, and for socialism.

Another major problem that characterized the first year was our failure to confront and discredit traitors. This was most clearly expressed in Sam Brown's living among us for months without making an honest account of his ratting to the FBI and our acceptance of this for fear of "breaking him completely" and his "going over." The fact was that he had already! We shielded him from the movement by not making his collaboration public. This came from liberalism in our position on non-collaboration, opportunism in putting the narrow legal interests of individuals above the interests of the movement, and self-protection in that taking responsibility for why traitors could emerge meant looking at our political weaknesses and errors. We think that it is significant that the jury in the federal trial refused to believe a case built on traitors. We also feel that while the traitors were challenged and exposed as self-serving liars, they were not fully confronted on their level of betrayal of their movement and the people. We feel that it's an ongoing struggle to build a movement that deals with traitors as well as minimizes the potential for traitors to emerge.

In the face of the intense state/media attack, the New Afrikan revolutionaries and white revolutionaries who pursued political strategies in the federal case and here were successful in challenging the state's definition of the actions and the forces involved. In October, 1981 the only public description of the case was "terrorism" and "heinous crime." By the end of the trial, it was generally recognized in the press and by the public that we saw ourselves as freedom fighters and that we defined the issue involved in these cases as the fight for land and independence for New Afrika. For our respective movements we set and expressed principled terms of fundamental opposition to the imperialist state, including its judicial branch. We presented

a strong defense of national liberation and the necessity for armed struggle. We provided examples of white revolutionaries who stand by principles and solidarity with the Black Liberation Struggle, regardless of the personal costs.

The limitations of what was accomplished are due both to the relative weakness of the revolutionary movements in this period and unresolved contradictions and errors by those of us on trial. We will focus on our particular errors and weaknesses.

The main problems reflect the same wrong line that we are trying to overturn and serve to highlight the ongoing nature of these struggles. In the beginning of the trial, we made errors in playing the central role in confronting the judge, "coaching" Kuwasi and failing to struggle against the white supremacist attacks against him by the judge and the court. This racist practice expressed interventionism in trying to determine the New Afrikan position in the trial. Further, its content served to submerge the central issue being the struggle for self-determination for New Afrika, by promoting the more general view that we are all freedom fighters who don't recognize the legitimacy of the court. This problem emerged most sharply in our participation in voir dire (questioning potential jurors). Here, also, we fell back into legalism. We incorrectly went into the voir dire process as an "open situation" where we could put forth our politics without taking into account that the court would fight there, as everywhere, to impose its terms on us. Rather than fighting this at each point, we compromised with it, such as by rephrasing our questions to satisfy the judge and not challenging the very nature of an anonymous jury.

The other side to our interventionism within the New Afrikan Independence Movement was our ongoing weakness in presenting ourselves as anything other than exceptional white people. We failed to develop a position on why white working people have a class interest in fighting in alliance with national liberation as a necessary part of the route to revolution within the oppressor nation.

At points we incorrectly focused on fighting against concerted state attacks against our rights -- such as denying us joint meetings -- by getting into a defen-

sive, anti-repression stand. Exposing and fighting counterinsurgency is an important issue. But it can only be done principledly and successfully in the context of the overall politics of support for national liberation and for the struggles for human rights by oppressed peoples and in advancing the anti-imperialist struggles toward the goal of proletarian revolution. Otherwise, the source of the repression and the convincing reasons to take on the fight are obscured.

The heart of our strategy was to uphold the just war for New Afrikan national liberation against u.s. imperialism. We think that we were able to successfully challenge the terms set in the state's massive propaganda campaign for three main reasons: 1) the clarity and forthrightness of the stand taken; 2) the activity of the public movement in putting forward those politics; and 3) our use of courtroom and media confrontation to argue for and reiterate the basic principles. Within the overall strong strategy, several wrong positions emerged in the course of the trial.

One push was to carry out a defense which politically contested the evidence and everything else that went on in the court. Part of this position came from a legitimate need to answer the slanders -- "cold blooded killers, etc. -- the state was putting out every day. But this posi-

testing the evidence or getting involved in legal maneuvering was not the way to do it; that would have undercut the clarity and strength of our stand.

On the other hand, some comrades defined the essence and heart of our position as "non-participation." The impetus for this was to emphasize our total opposition to the imperialist court. But a definition that revolved around the format of our stand actually competed with and ran counter to a political definition that made the fight for self-determination for New Afrika the center of our position. Further, the tunnel vision on non-participation promotes tactical rigidity because it denies the ability to seize realistic opportunities to use the court confrontation to stand for and argue politics. It is also tied to a position -- which we promoted for a long time -- which overprojects the strength of the revolutionary movements. It is flippant to assume that "the issues are clear to people," as people have argued. This undercuts an understanding of our responsibility and the need to struggle for and organize for these politics in our building our movement. One example of this was the inconsistency in our media work, particularly with the left and progressive media. We ourselves should have taken more initiative on this from the beginning.

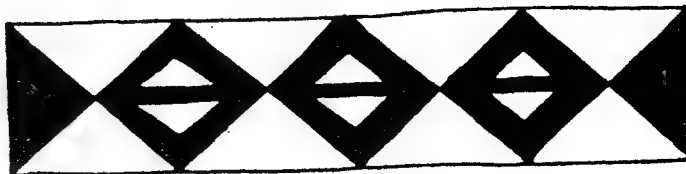
We do not feel that what we did is a

Ideology dominates law at Brink's robbery trial

tion would have served to undercut our basic stand because it missed just how much the court and media pushed to define the real issue as our "guilt or innocence" of specific charges. This bias can be seen in how the media strained to redefine our stand on the illegitimacy of the court as a "boycott" that was part of an unorthodox "defense strategy." Contesting evidence would have given them the basis to mold this interpretation of the trial, which ultimately would mean victory for the state when the "guilty verdict" came in. It is important to answer their lies and slanders in and/or out of the courtroom. But con-

-- Headline from the Rockland Journal-News

blueprint for all future cases. We do feel that it is of critical importance for captured freedom fighters and political prisoners to put the needs of the movement in the forefront and to fight for revolutionary principles and strategy in word and deed. □



TAKE THE LESSONS, cont'd from p-10

its errors. The time is ripe to scientifically advance our Marxist-Leninist revolutionary strategy for the white oppressor nation proletariat to participate in world revolution. But we skip a stage if we simply say this means going to the white working class -- a classic opportunist formula. In fact, at this stage the white working class is primarily wedded to the u.s. war machine, functioning as u.s. imperialism's major weapon to wage any war as its own crisis develops. Until a full revolutionary alternative is built there's little choice that actually exists for the white working class as a whole but to be organized to fascism -- whether it's through outright Klan offensives or social democratic structures organized to support imperialism. Today the white working class is totally tied to imperialism's ability to wage war. The jobs of one out of 10 Americans depends directly or indirectly on defense spending. The war for consciousness is on, with the promise for compliance being continued world hegemony and white power. Our responsibility is to develop the capacity to fight the u.s. war machine as the u.s. gears up for full-scale war in Central America. The Nicaraguans, Salvadoreans and revolutionaries through all of Latin America are the leading edge today in anti-imperialist struggle and the system is responding by mobilizing for war -- billions of dollars in munitions, massive numbers of CIA-trained counterinsurgents, and the mounting offensive against draft resisters demand that we build resistance in full solidarity with Central American struggle.

Anti-klan and anti-war demonstrations that are anti-imperialist, which support armed struggle and self-determination, begin to present a revolutionary alternative as they begin to build a movement that can concretely shake the ability of the u.s. to monolithically wage imperialist war. But for the alternative to be real, armed clandestine organizations must be developed in the oppressed and oppressor nations. Any revolutionary strategy that is contending for power must be in a protracted process to break the backbone of the enemy's military might.

In the past, we've misused the concept of "the armed struggle leads;" we've idealized the armed struggle and put it above politics. Armed struggle does not lead

because it is armed, but, in the words of the National Committee to Defend New African Freedom Fighters, because "it is armed to the teeth with the correct line." Political/military errors laced with numerous traitors and issues of corruption along with the development of new armed organizations have forced us to open up the debate on the question of armed struggle. In this stage, while armed struggle within the borders is embryonic and public organizations predominate, the support of these developments is critical. Though still on a small scale, with the leading edge of armed propa-

"ANY REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY THAT IS CONTENDING FOR POWER MUST BE IN A PROTRACTED PROCESS TO BREAK THE BACKBONE OF THE ENEMY'S MILITARY MIGHT."

scale, with the leading edge of armed propaganda by the FALN as the year began, numerous acts have pierced the shell of the enemy's bastions of power and invulnerability. This year the FBI, the U.S. Attorney's office, the police, the u.s. courts, the War College, military installations, IBM and South African financial offices have all been attacked. These actions are contributing to the development of a revolutionary line in building a resistance movement to counterinsurgency war and militarization by u.s. imperialism. The state is well aware of the significance of this developing capability and is seeking to eliminate it at its early, most vulnerable stage. It is critical to understand that at the core of the state's counterinsurgency in attacking public or clandestine forces is always the deadly serious search-and-destroy missions against revolutionary armed organizations. Today the imperialists face a crisis of economic and political control that has forced them to develop the most sophisticated and complex counterinsurgency methods, tying high-tech science with propaganda manipulated for fascism.

The example of Chile is helpful in instructing us on how it works. Donald Freed, for his book on Orlando Letelier's assassination in Washington, researched the role of the CIA in psychological warfare which enabled it to stage coups in Guatemala, Santo Domingo, Chile, and to attempt one in Cuba. He describes how a small counterinsurgency team, expert in false propaganda and highly financed, used think tanks

to develop the most effective anti-communist campaigns. In Chile, classic behavior modification techniques and Freudian psychology were used through an intensive media campaign to delegitimize the Marxist Allende government and prepare for the CIA to lead a right-wing coup. The CIA, through polling and psychological testing of the Chilean people, ferreted out the most terrorizing images to substantiate the lie that continued leadership by a Marxist government would speak to the greatest fears of cannibalism and castration for the people. Using unsolved homicides, the CIA totally invested these myths in its headquarters in Langley, Virginia as part of its plan to train the Chilean people to accept imperialist terror.

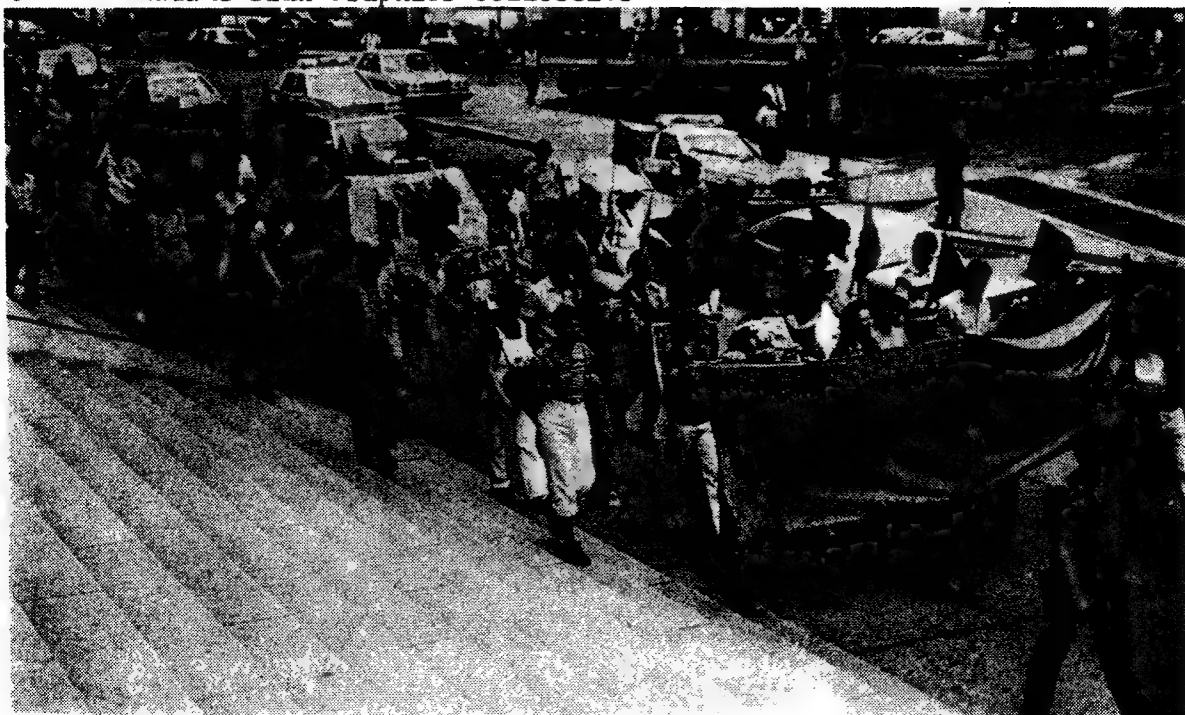
This is how, in Attica in 1971, the government portrayed the brothers' righteous rebellion through the media: as castration led by animals. And this is exactly how in Goshen, New Afrikan POWs, white anti-imperialist freedom fighters, and the entire revolutionary movement is being portrayed as stopping short of nothing in our insane quest to terrorize America: jurors arrive nameless in school busses with blacked out windows; mothers are made to be afraid to take their children to the park; shopkeepers "become" afraid to talk to us and any access to the media by the freedom fighters is called a security breach by the state.

Is this simple security of the Orange County jail and the town of Goshen? Of course not. It's counterinsurgency, highly centralized and highly technical, out to destroy any positive image or ability to organize of revolutionaries. Like in Chile, it's part of a totally self-conscious plan for the system, setting the stage for full scale political, legal, and military attack on revolutionary forces.

So, in Chicago and nationally, search-and-destroy missions against the FALN and its supporters are being joined with criminal contempt of the grand jury in major assaults on the Puerto Rican independence movement. William Morales' capture and torture is a serious attack for the international revolutionary struggle that occurs in the pattern blueprinted at the 1978 secret meeting in Puerto Rico of international counterinsurgency experts: they concluded that since the consciousness of the people is critical, it must be exposed only to propaganda from the government and must be prevented at all costs from sympathizing with the armed struggle. "Never," they argued, "should the media be permitted to demonstrate the terrorist as an ordinary human being." Because, they continue, "if the terrorist can't be neutralized, nothing less than death will keep the terrorist from repeating his act." Imperialism has been forced to learn accurately what revolutionaries can accomplish if they are able to mobilize masses of the oppressed to arms.

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credit: Madame Binh Graphics Collective



FROM THE ARMED CLANDESTINE MOVEMENTS

U.S. War Machine Under Attack

As the u.s. stockpiles its war bases against revolutionary struggles in the Caribbean and Central America by establishing permanent facilities for 20,000 American troops in Honduras, and further militarizing Puerto Rico, the demands on us to build anti-imperialist resistance against the u.s. war machine have escalated. The Armed Resistance Unit and the United Freedom Front are setting terms for that resistance: that it must be anti-imperialist in character and thus support the self-determination of those nations struggling for independence and socialism; that it must pierce the heart of the monster by exposing and attacking the the u.s. military with a view to the protracted war that will spell its defeat. The content of both of these actions and ones reported in the last Resistance was proletarian internationalist solidarity with the peoples in Central America and Puerto Rico. Armed propaganda, in the earliest stages of struggle shows the people that the enemy isn't invulnerable, points the way towards a revolutionary strategy that can win: protracted revolutionary warfare against the state.

U.S. war maneuvers against Nicaragua and the El Salvadorean people; implementation of the 2020 Plan against Puerto Rico; u.s. provocation and the downing of Korean jet 007; u.s. military combat against the Lebanese and Palestinian people in the Middle East and counterinsurgency against revolutionary movements inside its borders are proof that "the u.s. wants war. It is planning for it and planning on it." (Armed Resistance Unit, August 12, 1983). Government controlled media suppresses these armed actions by muzzling and distorting reports on them. At a time when electoral alternatives are being presented as the way to solve basic problems of human rights and oppression, revolutionaries must organize for the necessity of these armed clandestine developments by distributing communiques, struggling over their political arguments, supporting captured freedom fighters, and building a militant resistance movement.

The resistance movement must be based on the same principles, and follow the same strategy, as every other aspect of the revolutionary struggle. A bottom line prin-

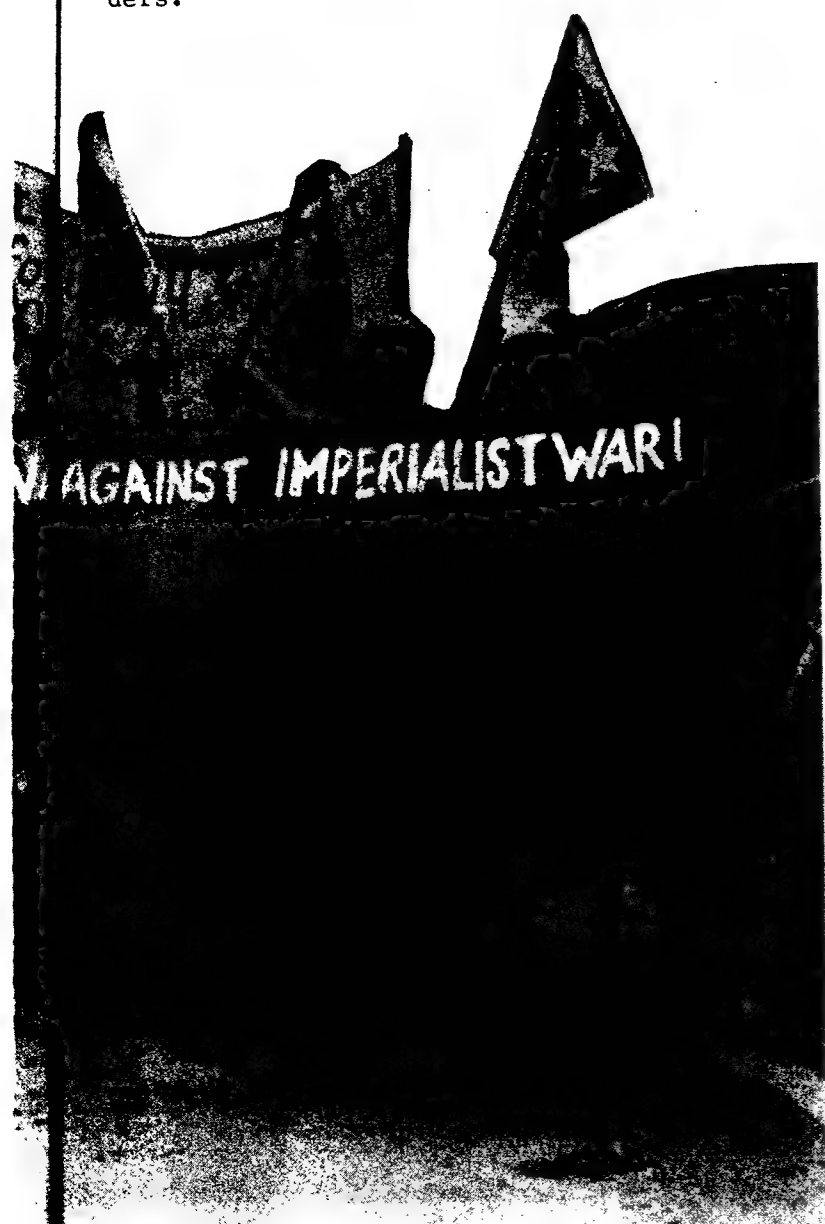
ciple guiding that strategy must be support for the armed clandestine movement--support that is unconditional but not uncritical. When the "Left" joins with the government in denouncing freedom fighters as "terrorists", it holds back the development of a winning revolutionary strategy, and helps the state attack revolutionary forces. The resistance movement has to publicize the words and actions of the armed organizations, while engaging with them in a constant dialogue and debate about advancing revolutionary strategy. There has to be a free flow of criticism/self-criticism, criticisms made in a principled manner and without denying political support.



ARMED RESISTANCE UNIT

August 17, 1983

Tonight we attacked the computer operations complex at the Washington Navy Yard. We have acted in solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the people of Central America and the Caribbean. We hope that this act of proletarian internationalism is just one of a growing number by anti-imperialists in this country determined to show that there will be no blockade between the struggles of oppressed people around the world and those here inside the U.S. borders.



credit: Madame Binh Graphics Collective

The U.S. government wants war. It is planning for it and planning on it. There is massive U.S. involvement in El Salvador; there are 6,000 marines in Honduras poised to attack Nicaragua while a de facto naval boycott surrounds its coasts; U.S. warships threaten to violate Libyan waters and U.S. aircraft its airspace; the U.S. is overseeing the military partitioning of Lebanon.

The computer complex at the Washington Navy Yard is used to train high-ranking officers at the Naval War College. They simulate massive naval battles, practice how to sacrifice the lives of millions -- perhaps hundreds of millions -- for the interest of the U.S. ruling class. The computers are part of the technology of death that the U.S. government employs to try to defeat the struggles of people around the world for national liberation, for socialism and for peace. U.S. finance, mining and industrial capitalists have hundreds of billions of dollars invested in the exploitation of Latin American land and labor, and use the government's military might to protect their profit.

We have acted tonight to contribute to the building of a resistance movement in this country that will rob the U.S. government of the stable home base it so desperately needs. This is a lesson from the Vietnam War that we can apply now. Our movement can organize the soldiers and sailors not to fight; the military's recruiting efforts can be blocked; and the technology can be sabotaged. The government wants the political debate in this country to go on between Republicans and Democrats over how to maintain imperialist control; our movement can be a progressive and anti-imperialist alternative that challenges that control.

Our action is a call directed to all those who support the peoples of Latin America and oppose U.S. aggression to embrace the struggle for independence and socialism for Puerto Rico. Since 1898, the U.S. military occupation of the island to maintain it as a colony has been and is the most direct form of imperialist aggression against the nations of this hemisphere.

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The U.S. confronted by what Reagan has the arrogance to call "the fire in our back yard" is committed to turning Puerto Rico into a military garrison to wage war against progressive movements in all of Latin America. Massive U.S./NATO exercises devastate Vieques; Ramey Air Force Base and Ft. Buchanan Army Base are being reopened; the U.S. counterinsurgency training headquarters for the hemisphere will soon be moved from Panama to Puerto Rico.

The revolutionary Puerto Rican Independence Movement will transform these U.S. plans into their opposite and bring the fire of Latin American revolution into the front yard and the very heart of the U.S. empire. Can those of us who know the true role of Kissinger and the CIA in Chile, the current reality of counter-revolution in Nicaragua and counterinsurgency in El Salvador withhold our support from those forces building the national liberation struggle of the Puerto Rican people? Alongside our demand in support of Nicaragua and El Salvador, we fight for the independence of Puerto Rico. We join with people around the world in demanding the freedom of Puerto Rican patriot and freedom fighter William Morales, the unconditional release of all Puerto Rican political prisoners and grand jury resisters.

The US. efforts to return to the days of gunboat diplomacy will fail. Oppressed and exploited people around the world learned an invaluable lesson from the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism. The imperialist war machine can be defeated through a protracted resistance and growing armed struggle. It is the time for progressive North Americans to renounce the empire and take our own first steps down the long road to revolution and a new socialist world. It is the only path that can bring peace, end fascist violence, and promote the full development of humanity.

DEFEND THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION!
VICTORY TO THE FMLN/FDR!
INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM FOR PUERTO RICO!
BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY RESISTANCE MOVEMENT!
FIGHT U.S. IMPERIALISM!

UNITED FREEDOM FRONT

August 21, 1983

HANDS OFF NICARAGUA

U.S. OUT OF EL SALVADOR

Tonight the United Freedom Front continues its attack against the U.S. military machine with the bombing of the Sgt. Joseph Muller Army Reserve Center (Provost Marshal's Unit, 408, 1163 and 303 battalions) in the Bronx, New York.

This is in direct response to U.S. imperialism's CIA-backed invasion of Nicaragua, Reagan's 5,000 man combat force and fleets of warships blockading and threatening to overthrow the Popular Sandinista Revolution. These imperialist forces are also in a position for rapid deployment against progress in other Central American countries. To more clearly demonstrate US intentions in this region, Pig Kissinger was brought out, with the blood of the Chilean and Vietnamese people still wet on his hands, to map out the course for continued U.S. domination of that area.

Despite strong efforts by the governments in Central America to try to prevent war, including the Nicaraguan Government's July 19th six point plan for peace, Reagan called in war-monger Kissinger along with a huge invasion force. They include more air power than that of any Central American nation and a larger naval fleet than all of the countries in the area combined. With the millions of dollars being poured into

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credit: Kristen Jensen

Fourth Anniversary of Nicaraguan Independence Day, in Managua

!Que Viva Puerto Rico Libre y Socialista!



credit: Madame Binh Graphics Collective

Since 1898, Puerto Rico has been the u.s.'s direct colony and most strategic military base in the Caribbean. In the words of Ambassador Kirkpatrick, "Puerto Rico is neither a domestic nor an international matter. It is a geo-political bastion of the United States." As the Central American revolutionary struggles have challenged u.s. hegemony, Puerto Rico has become even more critical as a base for u.s. military intervention in Central America and Latin America. The specific strategy to militarize Puerto Rico and turn it into 17 military/industrial complexes, with a devastating impact on the people and ecology, is called the 2020 Plan, because it is due to be completely implemented by the year 2020.

This clarifies the singleminded, deadly thrust of u.s. counterinsurgency in this period, directed at the only obstacle to their plans for Puerto Rico -- the revolutionary Puerto Rican Independence Movement. The u.s. is not only trying to destroy revolutionary organizations nor to intern individuals, but is trying to destroy the strategy of protracted people's war at its early stages of development. The core of this

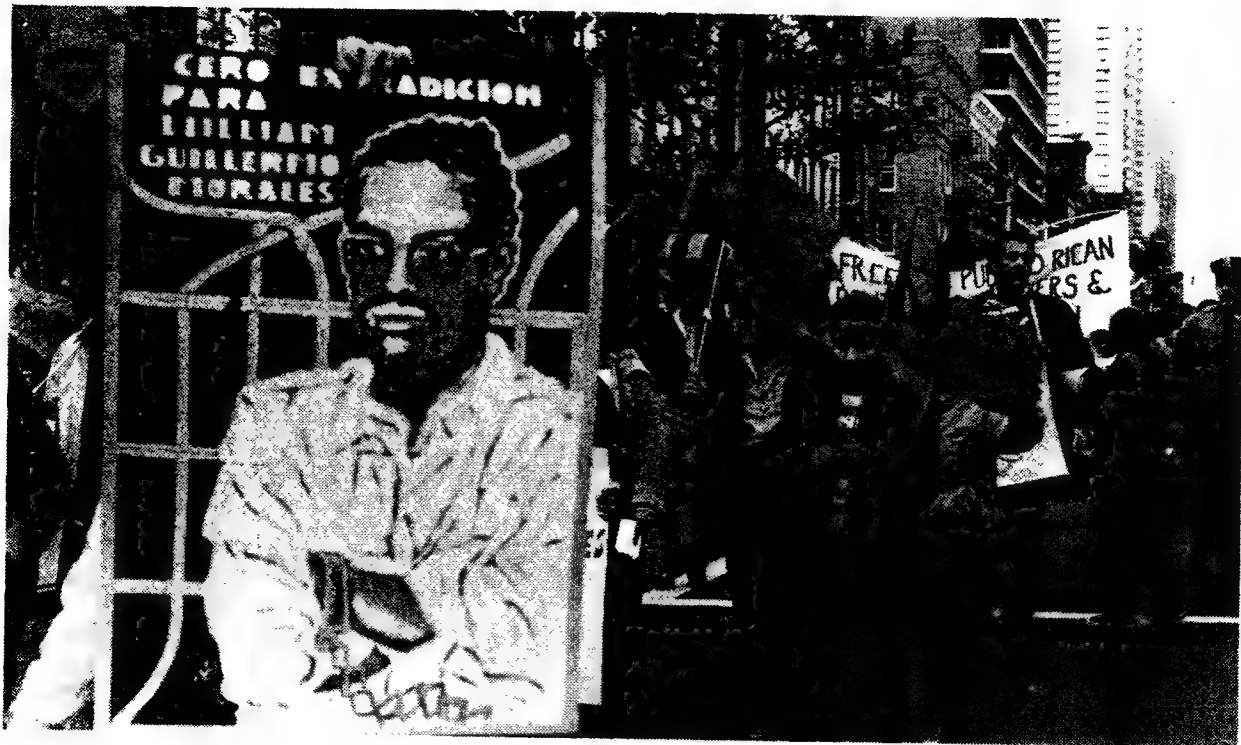
u.s. strategy is to politically isolate and destroy the political/military clandestine organizations capable of advancing this strategy. Enormous manpower and technical resources of the FBI/CIA have been focused on the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, which has resulted in significant setbacks with the capture of freedom fighter William Morales and the arrests in Chicago. These were serious blows, and came at a time when the u.s. had absolutely failed in using escalated repression and political internment through the grand jury to break the wall of non-collaboration and firm principle among the revolutionary Puerto Rican Independence Movement; and the small but growing base of revolutionary North American support. The principle of turning repression into resistance is once again advancing the struggle as the captured POWs and the grand jury resisters set examples of resistance. They are confronting and exposing the genocidal and illegal u.s. occupation of Puerto Rico, and building support for the revolutionary strategy to win independence and socialism.

The following articles were submitted by the New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence and Socialism.



Long Live Freedom Fighter William Guillermo Morales !

No Extradition !



credit: Madame Blah Graphics Collective

The extradition hearing of Puerto Rican patriot and freedom fighter William Morales has been postponed until some time in November. The U.S. government has been putting diplomatic and economic pressure on the Mexican government since the time of William's arrest to return him to the U.S. But more significant has been the major international campaign that has been organized urging Mexico to deny the U.S.'s request. The latest delay in the hearings was caused by the intervention of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees who is writing a letter to the Mexican courts concerning William's status. Moreover, the U.N. Decolonization Committee is sending to the Mexican government official copies of all Decolonization Committee resolutions declaring Puerto Rico to be a colony and calling on the U.S. to decolonize. The Mexican lawyers will also be submitting all relevant U.N. documents that guarantee colonies the right to fight for self-determination and independence by any means necessary, including the right to wage armed struggle.

William Morales was captured in May, 1983 in Puebla, Mexico by operatives of the

CIA-directed supranational police force INTERPOL, which routinely violates Mexican sovereignty. Hours after his capture, a Mexican comrade, Adelaido Villapondo Contreras, died in an attempt to rescue William. A policeman was also killed. Mexican police then went to a nearby house, opened fire on two other Mexican comrades, brutally assassinating Judith Virrio Angiano and wounding Antonio Pedro Ruiz, a 16-year-old boy who has since been "disappeared" by the police.

The U.S.'s arguments for extradition rest on federal fugitive charges stemming from William's heroic escape in May 1979 from Bellevue Hospital Prison Ward in New York City, where he was imprisoned after having been convicted in a criminal trial in which he declared himself a Prisoner of War. The Mexican government is in the process of deciding both the question of extradition, and the prosecution of criminal charges for the events that occurred at the time of William's arrest.

Internationally, the LSP (Puerto Rican Socialist League) in Puerto Rico and the

Cont'd on p. 27

'We Must Confront Imperialism At Its Base'

This is a solidarity message sent by Silvia Baraldini to the August 20, 1983 Cultural Marathon in support of William Morales. Several hundred people attended the Marathon, which was held to raise political and financial support for this Puerto Rican patriot.

On the eve of the United Nations' Decolonization Committee's debate on Puerto Rico, we gather together to honor Puerto Rican freedom fighter and patriot William Morales. Captured by the forces of imperialism, held by the Mexican government illegally, tortured by the Mexican police and Interpol, William Morales stands as an example of the commitment and determination that have shaped the battle for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico. As North Americans we join in the demand that William Morales be recognized as a Prisoner of War and the Mexican Government implement the Geneva Accords and No Extradition into the hands of U.S. imperialism. The struggle for the recognition of Puerto Rican Prisoners of War is at the heart of our efforts to build solidarity with the Puerto Rican Independence Movement.

U.S. imperialism is aggressively pursuing its domination of Central America and the Caribbean. U.S. imperialism is intent on war: war to destroy the patriotic forces of those nations, to insure the continued exploitation by the multinational corporations of the nations and peoples of the Caribbean Basin, and to overthrow the socialist governments of the region. U.S. impe-

rialism's plan for Puerto Rico is clear: implementation of the 2020 Plan and destruction of the forces that fight for freedom, independence and socialism. The Puerto Rican nation, led by the revolutionary Independence Movement has declared that it will oppose U.S. imperialism to the death. Our task is clear as well: we must confront imperialism in its base, build a national movement that demands the end of 90 years of colonial domination in Puerto Rico. This movement must make clear our uncompromising unity with the self-determination of the Puerto Rican nation, the strategy of protracted people's war -- the strategy being pursued by the armed clandestine organizations and revolutionary sectors of the public movement, and defense of all patriots who refuse to collaborate with the use of the grand jury by U.S. imperialism.

In closing, my solidarity and support to the patriots captured in Chicago: Alexandra Torres, Edwin Cortes, Jose Luis Rodriguez, Alberto Rodriguez.

Long live the FALN!
Independence and Socialism for Puerto Rico!
Stop the Grand Jury!
Death to u.s. imperialism! ☐



conspiración sediciosa



el delito imposible

credit: De Pie y en Lucha

On August 22, Alexandrina Torres, Alberto Rodriguez, and Edwin Cortes declared themselves Puerto Rican Prisoners of War. They, along with Puerto Rican political prisoner Jose Luis Rodriguez, were arrested on June 29 and charged with seditious conspiracy -- conspiring to overthrow the united states government. They have been held in punitive, inhuman conditions since then, on \$10 million bail for the men and \$5 million for Alejandrina. Jose Luis was finally released on \$25,000 bond on August 20.

On August 22, the three POWs wrote a statement to a large demonstration held to support them in front of Metropolitan Correctional Center in Chicago. They said: "This country has no right to judge us. That right belongs to the Puerto Rican people. Our activity in the revolutionary process makes the enemy tremble. It makes them nervous because they do not want to accept it, they realize that they are the ones who are on trial and this revolutionary justice is being carried out by the armed clandestine branch of our Puerto Rican consciousness . . . We affirm that we are combatants in a struggle for liberty."

All four are charged with seditious conspiracy and seven other major felony counts, but the heart of the government's case rests on the seditious conspiracy charge.

(Seditious Conspiracy: The Impossible Crime)

But, as the three POWs declared in a 150 page motion they submitted to the court, seditious conspiracy is an impossible crime for Puerto Ricans. Puerto Rico is not a part of the u.s.; it is a separate nation, colonized by force. Puerto Ricans are waging an anti-colonial struggle to return their nation to its rightful place among free and independent nations. This is not sedition. This is not an internal u.s. matter; this is an international question. As the three said, "We assert our right to be tried before an international body. The u.s. has no right to try us, they do not have the integrity to judge a people who resist and combat their terrorism."

The three POWs are challenging the inherent contradiction in the use of u.s. courts to use colonial law to make illegal the fundamental right of the Puerto Rican nation to struggle for freedom from u.s. domination. In so doing, they have contributed to the ideological foundation of the legal and political arguments concerning Prisoner of War status for Puerto Rican freedom fighters. As the struggle for Puerto Rican independence mounts, increasing attention has been and will be paid to that question in the international arena. The arguments made now will deeply influence how Puerto Rican Prisoners of War will be dealt with in the future. Moreover, and

perhaps more significant, is the contribution that stance makes to enabling other Puerto Ricans to understand the complete illegality of U.S. control of Puerto Rico.

This escalation to seditious conspiracy is part of the current u.s. strategy to criminalize the most revolutionary sectors of the independence movement. The u.s. government's objective is to build support among people to gain the political internment of revolutionaries. Right now, this attack on freedom fighters of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, heroic men and women captured in the course of building the armed clandestine struggle which is vital to the ability of Puerto Ricans to win their liberation, is being used to sharpen the seditious conspiracy laws. At least one non-combatant political activist in Chicago, Jose Luis Rodriguez, is also charged with seditious conspiracy.

This attempt to isolate freedom fighters from the entire nation comes in the face of indications that other parts of this strategy have not worked -- see the other articles in this section about the grand jury and William Morales. In addition, the charge of seditious conspiracy is a political charge. The u.s. government has therefore been forced to more nakedly attack revolutionaries, exposing that "democracy" is nothing more than a mask.

The attacks on revolutionary Puerto Rican forces come in the context of the growing u.s. war drive, and only makes more clear the critical role Puerto Rico plays in u.s. war plans. Puerto Rico's strategic location in the Caribbean, the growing number and complexity of military bases it houses, and the existence of strategic min-

erals in its central mountains make Puerto Rico's maintenance as a direct colony of the u.s. all the more essential. The u.s. has always considered Central America and the Caribbean as its backyard, as an extension of the u.s. As Jose Lopez, National Coordinator of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional/Puertorriqueno said when he addressed the United Nations Decolonization Committee, " . . . [The u.s.] must transform Latin America into its sword and shield and Puerto Rico into its watch tower."

The three POWs continue to be held in the conditions of punitive isolation that have existed since their arrest. Until September 30, Alejandrina Torres was held on a men's floor where she was continually harassed, both physically and psychologically, by guards and some men prisoners whom the guards allowed near her. She has continually been denied medical treatment for a serious heart ailment. All of the POWs have been denied any visits except for one every week from their families. Until recently they were denied joint legal meetings. All of them have been kept in 23 hour lock-up, allowed out only for one hour of exercise a day. Write to Judge Leighton, Everett Dirksen Federal Building, Chicago, IL. to protest these conditions.



Credit: Madame Binh
Graphics Collective

WILLIAM MORALES, cont'd from p. 24

MLN (Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional) in the United States have launched campaigns to build mass support for William and to demand "no extradition!" Every organization within the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, as well as sectors of the pro-autonomy movement; and the left and labor organizations in Mexico have endorsed the campaign. International conferences, such as the World Peace Conference, have supported the campaign. North Americans have been mobilized by the New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence and Socialism. As a result, thousands of letters

have been sent to Mexican President de La Madrid, and a delegation of five former presidents of the Puerto Rican Bar Association will be attending the hearings in Mexico. In New York City, the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War held a unitary event in William's support, raising thousands of dollars for his legal and political defense. On the international level, support has been expressed in various Latin American countries and diplomatic work has led to commitments by several nations to grant political asylum to William. □

Criminal Contempt: Attack Heightens, Resistance Grows

On September 25, the last of the Puerto Rican grand jury resisters held on civil contempt -- Ricarte Montes of the Socialist League; Raymond Soto of the CUCRE (Unitary Committee Against Repression) and Alberto de Jesus were released from federal jails in New York and Miami. The three, all independentistas from the island, had served 15, 10 and 8 months respectively in jails outside their homeland. In a naked attempt to intimidate and isolate Alberto de Jesus, the government immediately arrested him on charges of fraudulent use of a Social Security card, extradited him to Wisconsin and held him on extraordinarily high bail. His bail was finally reduced, and he was released.

Increasingly, as civil contempt with its maximum sentence of 18 months has failed to intimidate the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, the u.s. government has moved to use the charge of criminal contempt which carries an indeterminate sentence. But this threat has been equally unsuccessful. On August 23, the government was defeated in its attempt to convict Federico Cintron, CUCRE leader, and Carlos Noya of the Socialist League and CUCRE, of criminal contempt. A second trial date was set for October 17, again before Judge Nickerson, in Federal District Court in Brooklyn.

Their trial had set a new precedent of trying activists from Puerto Rico in the

united states. The government knew that it could not obtain a conviction in Puerto Rico because the grand jury has been so exposed as a repressive tool against the independence movement. The entire independence movement -- and even broader sectors -- has condemned the grand jury. The week before the trial, a man who had resigned as foreman of one of the political grand juries in San Juan wrote a letter to a major newspaper there, denouncing the political farce of the grand jury. The day Noya and Cintron's trial opened, a letter appeared in the New York Times signed by a former Governor of Puerto Rico and two other ex-government officials, liberals from the pro-autonomy party, condemning the grand jury. These pressures forced Judge Nickerson to reverse himself and to allow Federico and Carlos to state before the jury why they were taking the principled stance of non-collaboration.

On August 23, the U.N. Decolonization Committee, for the first time in many years of resolutions calling for independence for Puerto Rico, specifically denounced the u.s. for using the grand jury to intimidate the independence movement. The overwhelming unity against the grand jury developed within the Puerto Rican Independence Movement has pushed that question into international consciousness.

Moreover, there is a growing struggle in Puerto Rico demanding the ouster of the



"I am not and never will be a collaborator. I am a militant with dignity. My country will be free."

-- Carlos Noya, grand jury resister

credit: adapted from graphic in Arm the Spirit

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federal courts from Puerto Rico, being led primarily by forces which favor Puerto Rico being maintained as a colony of the u.s. The campaign about the federal courts is reflective of the impact that the struggle for non-collaboration has had on all sectors of Puerto Rican society. It demonstrates a growing awareness of the need to maintain the Puerto Rican nationality. On October 3, 1983, the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) held its assembly of 11,000 delegates and passed a resolution condemning the grand jury. Most significantly, in the course of Puerto Rican Senate hearings concerning the assassination by Puerto Rican police intelligence of two young independentistas, Soto and Arrivi at Cerro Maravilla, a federal grand jury has again been convened whose purpose is to systematically cover up the extent of federal participation in the assassinations. The Puerto Rican Senate is refusing to cooperate with this grand jury because three previous grand juries have completely exonerated the police of any wrongdoing. The generally accepted view among the Puerto Rican people is that the FBI was fully involved in the killings.

Earlier this year, on June 7, the five grand jury resisters -- leaders and a supporter of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional/Puertorriqueno and the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional/Mexicano were sentenced for criminal contempt. While the government was unable to get the 15 year sentences they had asked for, the five were sentenced to three years.

This followed a strong campaign in Puerto Rico, in the u.s. and Mexico and in the international community. On September 23, the General Assembly of the U.N. approved a resolution where it reaffirmed "... the right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence ... and [demanded] the cessation of all repressive measures against Puerto Rican independence forces including the intimidatory activities of the federal grand jury." The successful use of criminal contempt, interning independentistas for upholding the principle of non-collaboration with the colonizer of the Puerto Rican people is a serious precedent. The total defeat of the grand jury through building a militant movement here is the task at hand.

The three year sentences handed out to the five followed a strong campaign of sup-

port, including 1,400 letters and postcards sent to Judge Sifton and many demonstrations across the country, in Mexico and in Puerto Rico. The five are free pending appeal. The appeal hearing took place on October 12; if they lose, it is likely that the five, who have remained free for two years since the first subpoenas, will go to jail.

The third major criminal contempt case is that of two North American anti-imperialists, Shelley Miller, a leader of the New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence and Socialism; and Silvia Baraldini, a member of the May 19th Communist Organization. The New Movement sponsored a national speaking tour for Shelley in June, 1983; she will go on a second tour in October to build support for the principle of non-collaboration and to argue that the heart of any progressive movement among white North Americans is the struggle to end u.s. domination of Puerto Rico. Militant opposition to the u.s. war machine and to militarization of Puerto Rico and solidarity with the revolutionary movement advancing in Puerto Rico are critical components to developing a revolutionary movement within the oppressor nation.

Just as with the MLN 5, Shelley and Silvia's case is being handled by Judge Sifton. Tentative trial date has been set for November 8. The New Movement has begun a postcard campaign to pressure Judge Sifton to dismiss the charges and to make clear that a North American movement exists that supports the stance of non-collaboration with repressive institutions like the grand jury. □

On October 20, Federico Cintron and Carlos Noya were found guilty of criminal contempt, after the jury had deliberated for 50 minutes. Their sentencing has been set for December 14.

Write to Judge Charles Sifton, U.S. Eastern District Court, 225 Cadman Plaza West, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201 to support Shelley Miller and Silvia Baraldini. Demand an end to the use of the grand jury for political internment.

New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence and Socialism
P.O. Box 2512, Cadman Plaza Station
Brooklyn, New York 11202

UFF, cont'd from p. 22

military bases, air strips and communications systems, in Honduras, it is obvious that this is a desperate move by imperialism to try to maintain its hold on these countries. Imperialism needs to dominate the people and resources of other countries to survive. Capitalism needs war and war preparations to pull itself out of economic depressions, recessions and times of outrageous unemployment. The bottom line of U.S. imperialism is its military forces invading other countries; thus making them a legitimate target whether lurking on the borders of Nicaragua or here in the belly of the beast.

On July 20 while Reagan and Congress continued their deceptive charade of certifying the fascist Salvadorean government's human rights policy to justify sending more U.S. money, arms and troops into that country, the Salvadorean Army slaughtered 200 unarmed peasants.

Honduras is being turned into a U.S. fortress in an attempt to hold back the tide of the People's Liberation struggles. In spite of all these U.S. efforts, the People of Central America are throwing off fascist repression, but at a horrifying cost in human lives, suffering and misery.

All the peoples of the world must unite with these courageous Sisters and Brothers in their just battle for the defense of the

Nicaraguan Revolution, the inevitable victory of the Salvadorean People and the rights of all Central American Peoples to Freedom, Self-Determination and a future for the Children free of hunger, fear and need.

"We have absolute faith in the Central American People and in the militant international solidarity of all the Peoples of the world, including the people of the United States."

--The Liberation Forces of El Salvador
April, 1980

WE DEDICATE THIS ACTION TO THE SPIRIT
OF COMRADE GEORGE JACKSON MURDERED ON
AUGUST 21, 1971

SOLIDARITY AND SUPPORT TO THE NICARAGUAN
PEOPLE AND THEIR SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT!

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR!

STOP U.S. INTERVENTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA!

SOLIDARITY AND REVOLUTIONARY SUPPORT TO
THE LOCKED DOWN FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND TO
ALL GRAND JURY RESISTERS!

SOLIDARITY TO ALL PROGRESSIVE INDIVIDUALS
AND ORGANIZATIONS OPPOSING U.S.
INVOLVEMENT IN CENTRAL AMERICA!

VENCEREMOS . . .

UNITED FREEDOM FRONT

While there is still a breath left in me,
I will engage in conspiracy.
While my spirit can still run
While my arm can raise a gun,
or my hand a pen still lift,
I will be secret, subtle, swift.

As long as you can hear the "le-lo-lai"
As long as palm trees and the flamboyant
still survive
So long as my people answer the call --
Count on me, at the front, with you all.
As long as I can breathe,
I will conspire.

While the masses demand protection
and the people cry out for action
I will stand beside you, not separately -
There will be conspiracies!

Look toward the sun, the universe,
the sea
As long as these exist, then in the poem
of each guerrilla walking in your midst
There I will be, seeking freedom,
eagerly.

As long as these American worms
Continue to dictate the terms
Hold me in your arms.
There's no other remedy --
But CONSPIRACY!

-- Carmen Valentin
Puerto Rican Prisoner of War

We Won't Win Giving Flowers To The Enemy

Much debate has surrounded Resistance's evaluation and analysis of the Seneca Falls Women's Peace Encampment since we went there in August to lead a workshop on Building a Resistance Movement. It is an intense debate, coinciding with the imminent installation of the Pershing and Cruise missiles by NATO in Western Europe and in the u.s.

We all agree that u.s. militarism -- or, more accurately, imperialist war -- can't be addressed outside of the strategy to defeat the entire system of imperialism; and that peaceful non-violent protest will never stop the war machinery of the system in deep crisis. We understand that women are not automatically progressive. We know that under the contradictions of women's oppression, numbers of women are being organized to fascist solutions. We saw that at the October 15 demonstration against the Trident submarine in Groton, Connecticut, where half of the Klan -- who held a pro-war rally -- were women. But we have had a great deal of political struggle about whether the fact that this is a women's encampment makes it more progressive by definition than any other non-violent, non-revolutionary demonstrations.

Seneca Falls attracted women responding to militarism and women's oppression. It targeted the u.s. war machine, and women were willing to take some risks, though limited, to protest the transportation of the Cruise missiles through Seneca Falls Army Depot. Their protests ranged from planting trees on the base to climbing a tower to hang an anti-war banner, to the mass civil disobedience of August 1 when over 200 women were arrested for climbing over the base fence into the arms of waiting Military Police. Though deeply reformist and led by separatist politics (i.e., men are the enemy of women and responsible for war), the encampment still faced repression from the local right wing when women marching to the encampment from Seneca Falls were attacked by a crowd of "patriots." How this incident was dealt with and what topics were "permitted" to be discussed expose the incorrect analysis of the enemy fought for by the leadership of the encampment.

A major debate in the camp centered on whether or not to fly the u.s. flag, to

avoid alienating the townspeople. And when the townspeople began singing The Star Spangled Banner at the confrontation with the encampment women, the women answered in patriotic competition by singing God Bless America. Finally, at the trials of the women arrested in the August 1 civil disobedience, women called the Seneca Falls Sheriff to testify as to their peaceful behavior.

What does it mean to fight as "patriots" to the system responsible for colonizing nations internally and internationally? How can women be peacefully encamped next to a military base without building a militant resistance to the enemy? What does it mean to agree with the government that people's war for national liberation is terrorism? At best, this encampment is reflected in what a West German demonstrator said last week at the protest against the u.s. air base at Ramstein: "To tell you the truth, I don't think what we're doing here has any effect . . . Still, I believe in the changeability of things."

The politics of a "women's free zone" in the midst of imperialism, where women fought to make peace with law and order officials, certainly can't challenge u.s. war plans. These politics betray the progressive anti-imperialist potential of women who identify the system as their enemy. Recently, the lesbian community in Western Massachusetts which has been under attack, reported several rapes and other incidents of serious harassment by an organization called SHUN (Stop Homosexual Unity Now) to
Cont'd on p. 32
Women were attacked by flag-waving "patriots"



. . .but identification with national liberation was systematically discouraged.

SENECA FALLS, cont'd from p. 31

the police. How incorrect a strategy this was was exposed when the police called in the FBI, who moved on a vulnerable community with photos of revolutionary fugitives still being sought in connections with the BLA's attempted expropriation of a Brink's truck in October, 1981. The state used lesbian oppression to manipulate women's cooperation with counterinsurgency. One FBI agent said "Maybe now that you've had such a good experience with law enforcement, you'll help us out."

Women cannot fight the brutality wreaked by this system, from missiles to rape, by shaking hands with the enemy and joining in its search-and-destroy missions for revolutionaries. Collaborating with the FBI's hunt for revolutionaries or singing God Bless America is not progressive because women do it. It certainly will never stop the violence directed against women and lesbians as the crisis of the system heightens, and the exploitation of women inevitably becomes more acute to help meet the system's ever-expanding economic and political needs.

When the African National Congress (ANC) was prevented from speaking at an October 1981 peace rally in West Germany, Women Against Imperialism there called it "a scandal" because the demonstration's organizers were afraid to alienate the West German government and the fascist regime in "Israel." At Seneca Falls, although many cars in the parking lot bore stickers targeting u.s. aggression in Central America, discussion of support for the Nicaraguan people's ongoing fight against u.s. imperialism was labeled a "sensitive" topic, irrelevant to the struggle for peace. Queen Mother Moore, elder leader of the New Afrikan Independence Movement and a teacher of Malcolm X, struggled in workshops that the women's encampment had to address white supremacy, the New Afrikan Independence Movement, and the problems of Third World women. But systematically, women's identification with the national liberation struggles was discouraged; discussion was deliberately steered away from the lessons taught by nations at war with imperialism and the women who struggle for socialism as the solution for all aspects of the oppression they face.

We went to Seneca Falls to struggle from our own practice about basic principles for building a resistance movement. Women who came to our workshop participated in discus-

sions about a revolutionary solution that gets to the bottom of the contradictions of imperialist war and of women's oppression. Living in the oppressor nation under imperialism, no struggle is exempt from the defining division between imperialism and the oppressed nations struggling for liberation. That's why our movement must build support for self-determination of all oppressed nations fighting for liberation, particularly those within u.s. borders. Because we understand that the development of a revolutionary solution must have at its heart a political/military strategy that has the ability to wage revolutionary war, we distributed communiques from the recent armed actions by the Armed Resistance Unit and the United Freedom Front against the u.s. war machine; and fought for support for captured freedom fighters and total non-collaboration with the FBI and the grand jury.

We won't win giving flowers to the enemy. For, as Ulrike Meinhof of the Red Army Fraction said, "Saying: I do not like this or that, that's protest. Seeing to it that what I do not like does not happen any more, that's resistance." □



credit: Revolution in El Salvador, Solidarity Publications

in jail will have no coercive impact on him.

[Mr. Jabbar was released on October 7 after serving 16 months in jail when a judge decided that he would never cooperate with the grand jury.]

FULANI SUNNI-ALI

Fulani Sunni-Ali is a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika, the nation consisting of all Black people born in Amerika. She has been an officer of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika for over ten years and is currently Vice-chairperson of the People's Center Council.

The Provisional Government seeks the independence of the Black Nation in Amerika. The U.S. government, and particularly the FBI, have conspired to destroy, discredit and divide the Provisional Government by legal and illegal processes. This is part of the U.S. government's effort to destroy the entire Black Nationalist Movement in Amerika.

These attacks have included infiltration, spying, disruption, media lies and military attacks by the U.S. government. This is documented in over 70,000 pages of FBI memoranda, released under the Freedom of Information Act, which describe and report on various illegal actions utilized by the FBI in its efforts to destroy the Provisional Government. This grand jury and the entire so-called "investigation" by the FBI is another phase of the government's attack.

Subsequent to her arrest, Ms. Sunni-Ali was broadly displayed across international and national media in hand chains and shackles and called a "terrorist." At the same time, the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika was called a terrorist organization.

Shortly after her arrest, the U.S. Attorney was given information about Ms. Sunni-Ali's whereabouts in New Orleans at the time she was alleged to have been in New York. Yet, the FBI refused to investigate and instead she was locked in 23 hour a day isolation at the Metropolitan Correctional Center for almost two weeks. Ms. Sunni-Ali was released when her lawyer and friends produced the documentation of her presence in New Orleans on October 21st.

The subpoenaing of Ms. Sunni-Ali violates international law by attempting to obtain jurisdiction over her without her consent or the consent of her government. As a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika, Ms. Sunni-Ali owes no duty to cooperate with the grand jury or any investigation of the u.s. government.

Documents released in discovery in the trial before Judge Duffy reveal that the FBI has known handwriting samples of Ms. Sunni-Ali and has used them to make handwriting comparisons. Yet they have continued to seek her confinement anyway.

[Ms. Sunni-Ali was released on October 19 after having served six months in jail. The court concluded that six months was a long enough period to evaluate that further incarceration would not coerce her to collaborate with the grand jury.]

ASHA THORNTON

Asha Thornton was arrested on April 21, 1982 on a material witness warrant at a bus stop where she was waiting with two small children. The affidavit submitted in support of the warrant gave as the justification for arresting her that she "hadn't been seen around BAAANA lately."

She was taken to FBI headquarters where she was questioned for five hours. The FBI offered her money if she would cooperate. They told her she had a son to think about. They also told her that she could save Mutulu Shakur's life, since they were going to kill him if he put up a fight. She was incarcerated on a material witness warrant. On May 10, 1982 she was served with a Subpoena. She refused to collaborate with the grand jury and was ordered confined by Judge Briant. After the order of confinement was entered, the government dropped the material witness warrant.

Ms. Thornton has refused to cooperate, collaborate or compromise with the u.s. government's attack against people who have embraced the reality that Black people have a right to struggle against political oppression, economic exploitation and social degradation. Black people have a 450 year history that justifies their self-determination struggle.

[Asha Thornton was released from jail on September 28, when the judge ruled that

Cont'd on p.34

NON-COLLABORATION, cont'd from p.33
further incarceration would never force her to cooperate.]

Black people have a long tradition of non-collaboration with the government's attacks on our basic human rights. One example is our people's response to the Fugitive Slave Laws. These laws were used as a means to jail our people for refusing to give up information about runaway slaves. Our people suffered beatings, lynchings, and death rather than cooperate with authorities.

Our present incarceration is intended to punish us for our support of the Black liberation movement and the right of Black people to fight for liberation. We will never testify or knowingly cooperate with the government's attempt to criminalize the

Black liberation movement through the RICO trial. Eighteen months in jail will not "coerce" us into testifying.

Larry Mack is the newest grand jury resister, jailed on October 11 for refusing to collaborate with the RICO grand jury. Mack was forced to appear in court only a week after he was subpoenaed, despite the fact that he needed more time to obtain a lawyer. After he refused to give his fingerprints and photographs (the items for which he was subpoenaed) to the u.s. Marshals when he was being processed into MCC, the government obtained a court order permitting them to use force to obtain these items. Mack is now jailed only for refusing to give handwriting samples to the grand jury. He is appealing his contempt citation. □

TAKE THE LESSONS, cont'd from p.19

In federal court, their newly sophisticated conspiracy law is being perfected with the RICO trial, being used to set serious precedents of long prison sentences for revolutionaries by painstakingly painting the BLA and its revolutionary support as a criminal enterprise. Classic counterinsurgency. "RICO" is intended to remove the so-called terrorists from society while attempting to prevent popular resistance AT ALL COSTS.

Today sitting here we know about the repression, in its broad sweeps and daily attempts to destroy the ability of national liberation struggles and the revolutionary anti-imperialist movements to fight. The government knows it has never been able to fully crush the struggle of the New Afrikan nation for land and independence. It knows that it hasn't broken the back of the FALN. It knows from the last four decades around the world what its oppression of whole nations produces, so it's going to war to defend its survival.

The government does believe, however, that this is the time to effectively destroy our serious attempts at anti-imperialist resistance in the white oppressor nation and we're feeling those attacks; but we expect to because we are engaged in battle with the state. Repression is intrinsic to the struggle and in itself can never defeat revolution. Only our refusal to be self-critical and overturn wrong strategies can defeat us. The object is to develop a science to objectively evaluate each battle, learn from our errors, and build on each

small victory in the context of a protracted struggle to win.

New Afrikan Freedom Fighters Day 1983 presents each of us with the challenge to take the lessons broken open by these struggles and to be bold -- to break all ties to the system as it exists. We are now actually engaged with u.s. imperialism. It's still an early stage of the struggle, so our losses are actually still minimal. Sekou Odinga, Kuwasi Balagoon, Judy Clark, David Gilbert, Bilal Sunni-Ali and Silvia Baraldini as well as the 11 Puerto Rican POWs and William Morales set examples for many people to follow. Examples that argue for us in the public arena to build a resistance movement that has at its heart our support for the armed resistance. And, of course, this only happens in the concrete, in the specific. Support the FALN, the BLA, the Armed Resistance Unit, the Revolutionary Fighting Group, and the United Freedom Front. Support all captured combatants and fight for non-collaboration with the FBI and grand juries hunting down the armed organizations.

Revolution can only take place with the most self-conscious scientific plans. It requires personal transformation and the development of revolutionary organization. It is NOT a metaphysical question of somehow, someday it will happen. It'll happen if we make it happen! Build to win! Defeat u.s. imperialism! Long Live the New Afrikan Independence Movement! Long Live New Afrikan Freedom Fighters! Victory to national liberation struggles all over the world! Build anti-imperialist war against imperialist war! □

BALAGOON, cont'd from p. 5

writing graffiti on the subway or the murder of a black man in Boston or of the two in Chicago or child in California, all by police; or the fourteen black women murdered in Boston, twenty-five black children murdered in Atlanta since the arrest of Wayne Williams or the beating death of Willie Turks. These crimes don't call for the death penalty, if any penalty at all; all this is OK by pig logic, that kind of killing helps to keep the colonies in check. . .

As long as the people of El Salvador suffered their best land given to the United Fruit Company or whatever name it goes by now and clearly lived under the heel of American Imperialism, by pig logic everything was OK. But once the people said enough, and really contested it, well, it was time to fortify the puppet regime's army and send advisers, and when a Salvadorean patriot blew one of those advisers away, by pig logic it was a shame before God. . .

When a cop gets killed, by pig logic it's different than when an old lady or a teenager or almost anyone else gets killed, especially if that anyone else is non-white. When Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata was killed, they put a picture of his corpse on the front page of the Daily News and then in the centerfold, under the caption "Death to the Terrorist." They did this because he opposed the colonialization off New Afrikan people, and they make a big deal out of the deaths of the cops and money couriers because they impose colonialization and this is war.

Legal rituals have no effect on the historic process of armed struggle by oppressed nations. The war will continue and intensify; and as for me, I'd rather be in jail or in the grave than do anything other than fight the oppressor of my people. The New Afrikan Nation as well as the Native American Nations are colonialized within the present borders of the United States, as the Puerto Rican and Mexicano nations are colonialized within as well as outside the present confines of the United States. We have a right to resist, to expropriate money and arms, to kill the enemy of our people, to bomb and do whatever else aids us in winning, and we will win.

The foundation of the revolution must rest upon the bones of the oppressor. ☐

GILBERT, cont'd from p. 6

Palestinian civilians in Sabra and Shatilla camps. The western press reported that perhaps hundreds had been killed. Actually, a conscientious Israeli journalist Amnon Kapeliouk estimates, after thorough investigation, that over 3,000 people were slaughtered. And this is just one incident; it doesn't tabulate the human toll of the U.S.-supplied cluster bombs and phosphorus bombs -- in violation of international law -- that Israel dropped on the civilian population. Angered and upset by this mass murder of civilians, we wore black armbands to court to commemorate the dead and to express support for the Palestinian struggle. These armbands were stripped from us by the physical power of the court. Yet police officers testifying at these same hearings wore black ribbons to mourn their two fallen comrades. So the lesson is clear. When the U.S. courts utter high flown phrases about human life, they certainly don't mean Palestinian or Lebanese lives. And of course we would give countless other examples: the thousands of Black people who have been lynched in Amerika; the tens of thousands slaughtered by U.S.-sponsored military regimes in Latin America; the 40 million people worldwide who die of malnutrition and starvation each year because of the economics of imperialism. No, the court doesn't want us to think of any of these people when it talks about human life. The rulers, the rich and their armed mercenaries are the only lives valued by this court.

And for all their obsession with and constant citations of the law, they violate the law every day to cover and protect these great crimes against humanity. This court jumped to censor and delete any discussion of international law -- even though that is supposed to be the highest law of the land. What are they hiding? What are they afraid of? Surely the imperialist criminals and their functionaries will one day be tried before international tribunals like the Nazis before them. . .

But the issues before us today are much more profound than the fates of three individuals. We have said consistently, at every opportunity, that the heart of this conflict and the reason for armed struggle in the first place is the colonization of 30 million Black people within the U.S. Colonization is when a people's labor and resources as well as their social and pol-

Cont'd on p. 36

GILBERT, cont'd from p. 35

itical existence are controlled and determined by an external force -- by U.S. imperialism. This systematic oppression of Black people is undeniable by every objective measure: economic situation, social status and level of violent repression. Yet the court wouldn't hear it and the media dutifully whited-out all discussion of colonialism. But the actual struggle of 30 million New Afrikan people cannot be whited out. . .

There have been 8 victorious revolutions since 1975. This is an advance at a blinding speed compared to the usual pace of world history.

For the white working class, the contradictions of the system will pose increasingly intractable choices. Certainly, white workers have a higher standard of living, can buy by far more consumer goods, than most people in the world. But they will be pressed to send more and more of their sons to be cannon fodder for unjust and losing imperialist wars. They will face a society organized around intensified white supremacy and violence against Third World people which is also destructive to the soul and spirit as well as the quality of life of white working people. . .

So for the white working class too, the crisis of humanity caused by imperialism will become a more clear and preent danger, laying an objective basis for a revolutionary movement that allies with national liberation and that fights for socialism as the only hope and aspiration for our children's future.

Clearly, the revolutionary movements within the U.S. are neither large nor powerful at this time. The New Afrikan and other internal national liberation struggles faced murderous military and political assaults in the form of COINTELPRO. All the movements have much to build and many lessons to learn. Speaking as a white anti-imperialist I must frankly admit that the penetration within ourselves of the imperialist values and reality that we grew up with -- competitiveness, sexism, elitism, and most particularly white supremacy -- have undercut and hampered our revolutionary purpose. We are barely at the threshold of the historic task to build a revolutionary proletarian movement. But what is

most fundamental is that the underlying contradictions of this society will not go away, they will only intensify until there is a revolutionary solution. The advance of national liberation in the world means that revolution is on the rise, as well as providing rich lessons for our own movements. The lessons of history teach us that this empire too will be destroyed.

So in response to the judge, the D.A. and more basically to the system they represent we draw from the words of Fred Hampton, a Black Panther who was assassinated by the FBI and Chicago police: you can kill or jail a revolutionary but you can't kill or jail the revolution. Ultimately it is imperialism that has caused its own death sentence. □

CLARK, cont'd from p. 6

whatever happens to us as individuals, the forces that produce struggle remain and the movement will continue to struggle and grow. And we will continue to fight to be part of that movement, no matter where we are.

A society based in increasing its power and wealth by controlling and emiserating people all over the world is a society that will find itself continually at war. An empire that holds captive within itself millions of people -- New Afrikan people, Mexicano people, Puerto Rican people, Native American people -- and robs them of their labor, their lives, their very national identities, is a society that will continually face rebellions, resistance and ultimately people's war as those peoples struggle to be free. A society that buys off its own workers with the spoils of colonialism, but continually ups the social costs they must pay -- in war and violence, unemployment and competition, degradation of women and racist mobilization -- is a society that will find its own people in turmoil and upheaval. We struggle to point that upheaval in a progressive direction, to look to the revolutionary alternatives being forged by oppressed peoples as a positive resolution to the conflicts people are facing. . .

So today, when the state asserts its power, I remember many things. I remember when the government captured Assata Shakur and Sundiata Acoli and killed Zayd Malik Shakur, they gloated and bragged that they had destroyed the Black Liberation Army. And I remember Assata's response. She said

that there will always be a Black Liberation Army, no matter what its name, so long as there are Black people who must struggle to be free. She said that freedom fighters do not drop from the sky, but are produced by the conditions of colonialism and the struggles of masses of Black people. I remember when eleven Puerto Rican freedom fighters were captured and the state claimed victory in destroying the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN). The government had to eat its words not only because the FALN re-emerged, but armed clandestine action and mass militant struggle has broadened in Puerto Rico. I remember last summer that when "Israel," armed and directed by the United States, invaded Lebanon they claimed they would wipe out the Palestine Liberation Organization as a step in wiping out the national existence of the Palestinian people. Yet, despite the criminal devastation and genocide rained upon the people, in the face of bombings and massacres that left tens of thousands dead, Palestinian and Lebanese people fought back. In doing so, they were able to make the world recognize and contend with the PLO and the rightful claim of the Palestinian people to their homeland.

Looking at these realities, and understanding the laws of history and society which illuminate the fact that oppression and exploitation breed resistance, struggle and the potential for revolution, I feel calm and confident. But I am not smug and hardly self-satisfied. For while the potential for struggle exists, while national liberation and revolution are the trend in the world today, the power of reaction is strong and the destruction and oppression wielded by imperialism is great. . . And it organizes masses of white people from all classes to fight to preserve empire by waging war against oppressed peoples. While the potential for progressive struggle towards a revolutionary anti-imperialist movement exists, its development is dependent on what people do. And with that will determine the longer term potential for proletarian, internationalist revolution here in the belly of the monster. Much hangs in the balance in the advance of revolution internationally. Frederick Engels once said that the choice humanity faced was between socialism and barbarism. The cold reality of that looms greatly in today's world.

Today, this court can impose its sentence upon us. But this court, which main-

tains a system that robs millions of people of their lives, land and labor, cannot judge us. History will judge us all. History has already begun to articulate that judgment. That is what it means that millions of people around the world have chosen to commit their lives to waging people's wars to overthrow the rule of the imperialist system and win power to build new, socialist societies.

History judges this as a deadly and decaying system. And it judges this court as a criminal accomplice in perpetuating such an exploitative and racist system. It is an accomplice in the crime of colonizing New Afrikan people.

I am struggling as an anti-imperialist freedom fighter so that when history judges me and my movement, it can be said that we helped give expression to true proletarian interests by building anti-imperialist struggle. In fighting for proletarian internationalism and upholding the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, in fighting against colonialism, war and white supremacy and promoting armed struggle, we helped to open up the possibility for masses of working class people to enter a new stage of history and the world arena on the side of a revolutionary future.

Kuwasi Balagoon and David Gilbert are being held in isolation. They have been told by prison authorities that this is "normal" treatment for new prisoners, and that they will soon be released into general population.

Judy Clark is also in isolation. She was told when she arrived at Bedford Hills that she was being treated as an "escape risk," but prison authorities later said that she, too, was in isolation only because she is involved in the processing procedure for new prisoners. □

AWAITING A BIGGER JURY, cont'd from p. 15

The U.S. government is trying to win a quick victory while revolutionary forces are still small. Attacks from the left aid the government in isolating and criminalizing the armed clandestine movement, and the revolutionary movements overall.

The real content of these attacks is denying the oppressed nations the right to self-determination. Oppressed and exploit-

Cont'd on p. 38

AWAITING A BIGGER JURY, cont'd from p.37

ed people need to wage armed struggle to defeat the imperialist enemy. It is critical to the development of the revolutionary movement that an armed movement be built which shows people that the enemy is vulnerable and points the way to the strategy of protracted People's War that can defeat imperialism. Under this system, where revolution is "illegal", it is never "too soon" to build that capability.

We also need to take on the view that struggle "causes" repression. It is certainly true that the government will respond to resistance. But repression is a constant, built-in part of an imperialist system built on exploitation, and the domination of whole nations. Imperialism will seek to smash every challenge to its continued existence.

The resistance movement must be based on the same principles, and follow the same strategy, as every other aspect of the revolutionary struggle. A bottom-line principle guiding that strategy must be support for the armed clandestine movement--support that is unconditional but not uncritical. When the "Left" joins with the government in denouncing freedom fighters as "terrorists", it holds back the development of a winning revolutionary strategy, and helps the state attack revolutionary forces. The resistance movement has to publicize the words and actions of the armed organizations, while engaging with them in a constant dialogue and debate about advancing revolutionary strategy. There has to be a free flow of criticism/self-criticism, criticisms made in a principled manner and without denying political support.

Revolutionary Morality

Over the past two years, corruption in the revolutionary movements -- the use and tolerance of drugs and pimping -- has come to light; and a new, revolutionary morality is being fought for.

The revolutionary movements need to create the new society in embryo, even as we are fighting. The destructive escapism of drugs and the exploitation of women are part of the oppression and the oppressive values fostered by imperialism.

The Black liberation movement in particular has exposed that drugs are part of the imperialist strategy to control, pacify and destroy the minds of oppressed people,

especially young people; and to promote escapism in society as a whole. Drugs are sold in the ghetto under the eyes of the police (if not by the police directly) -- drugs which are produced in countries which are amerika's colonies and neo-colonies, shipped on CIA airlines like the Flying Tigers and "missed" by federal customs agents. With its methadone clinics, the u.s. government is the biggest pusher of all. The escape of drugs allows people to avoid confronting the collective and social nature of the misery in their lives.

Prostitution, pimping and the tolerance of both are counterrevolutionary -- they work against our ability to build revolutionary struggle. The energies and potential of every person need to be liberated and contribute to the struggle. That is why struggles from Vietnam to Nicaragua have fought for the liberation of women as an integral part of building people's war. Revolutionary forces have to fight against women's oppression and for the development of women's full revolutionary potential because the enslavement of women holds back the revolutionary struggle.

Conclusion

Through our practice we have come to a deeper understanding of why it is important to build the movement against counterinsurgency. In this period of time, counterinsurgency within the u.s. is directed against those revolutionary forces who can offer leadership to the national liberation struggles and the anti-imperialist movement. Our forces are small, but the political direction we offer to masses of people presents a potentially grave threat to the imperialist system. Fighting counterinsurgency means supporting revolutionary leadership.

At this time, the success of counterinsurgency depends on the participation and support of masses of people. Whether it is u.s. war in Central America and Lebanon, or the use of the courts against the New Afrikan, Puerto Rican and anti-imperialist movements, it needs public support, or at least acquiescence. The u.s. government is building towards a fascist system, which is one in which there are no "guaranteed" legal rights, where the ruling class rules by naked terror. Fascism needs the active participation of many people -- as enforcers, as informers, as political supporters. There

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Attica

On September 19, prisoners at New York's Attica Prison began a strike to press for forty demands. The work stoppage has been reported as 75% effective, the most widespread struggle at Attica since the uprising in 1971. That rebellion was crushed by a police assault, ordered by Governor Rockefeller, in which 43 prisoners and guards were killed.

The demands include: parole eligibility for lifers after 10 years; location of prisoners in institutions near their homes; an end to prison guard brutality; an end to limitations on prisoners' right to communicate and meet together; an end to the harassment of visitors by guards; decent quality commissary; and adequate health care and food. The prisoners single out A Block, the Special Housing Unit, for attention, protesting racist and brutal treatment by guards.

A letter received by Resistance from an Attica prisoner says, "We are being singled out and brutally beaten by prison guards. We are being denied our phone calls, recreation, showers, hair cuts and commissary. We are being randomly transferred to other prisons and from block to block in an attempt to destroy our morale and unity, all because of our 'peaceful' demonstration."

We urge our readers to write to Gov. Mario Cuomo, State Capitol, Albany, N.Y. to support the struggle of Attica prisoners, and protest the reprisals being taken against them. □

Vancouver Five

The trial of the Vancouver 5 was scheduled to begin in September. The 5 are anti-imperialist activists from Canada who are members of the anti-war movement, the women's movement and the punk/anarchist community. They are charged with several armed actions, including the bombing of a Litton Systems plant in Toronto which produces the Cruise missile.

is a fight going on now to build that base, but it is not yet completely built. We need to build a resistance movement that will expose and challenge the government's strategy to consolidate that base.

The revolutionary history made over the past two years opens the way for a more in-

The 5 were arrested early this year by Canadian agents disguised as road maintenance workers. Their case is Canada's test anti-"terrorist" case. It has been the excuse for repression of the anti-imperialist movement there; and is part of the justification for Canadian Security Legislative Bill C-157, a parallel to the new FBI Guidelines. □

Bashir Hamid & Abdul Majid Mistrial

On October 10, a mistrial was declared in the second trial of Bashir Hamid and Abdul Majid for the killing of police officer John Scarangella in April 1981. The jury had deliberated for almost a week and stood at eight to four for acquittal when Judge O'Brien declared a mistrial because one of the jurors became emotionally disturbed. O'Brien chose to declare a mistrial rather than replace the juror, a white woman who had been hostile to the freedom fighters on trial, rather than replace her with a Black alternate juror. Abdul and Bashir protested the decision, which leaves open the possibility of yet a third trial. Defense lawyers also argued that the juror had lied under jury selection questioning about the fact that she had been under psychiatric care in the past in order to get on the jury and vote for conviction. □

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tensified period of struggle. For Resistance, that means maintaining an offensive against u.s. counterinsurgency around the world and within the present borders of the u.s.; and continuing our commitment to support the development of the armed clandestine struggle and revolutionary struggle overall. □